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TABLE OF CONTENTS

(Hung-ch'i No. 10, October 1, 1975)

Page

Seriously Sum Up Experience in Learning from Tachai in Agriculture - by T'an Feng (p. 5) 2

Run Medium and Small Industries Actively and Well - by Chiang Hung (p. 11) 10

Do a Good Job in Transforming Brigades That Lag Behind (p. 16) . . 16

March Forward Triumphantly Under the Guidance of Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line - by Saifudin (p. 20) 21

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PRICES SUBJECT TO CHANGE

Page

A Promising New Thing (p. 27) 30

Build a Theoretical Contingent, Promote Mass Study (p. 31) 36

Bring the Positive Role of Technicians into Play (p. 35) 41

Comment on Sung Chiang the Capitulationist - by An Ch'ün (p. 39) 47

Comment on Chin Sheng-t'an's Mutilation of Water Margin - by Wen Chung (p. 46) 55

Water Margin and Class Struggle in Sung Dynasty - by Yang Jung-kuo (p. 52) 64

To Advocate Capitulation Is To Distort Peasant Revolution (p. 56) . . 69

Why Does Water Margin Exclude Ch'ao Kai from the 108 People? - by Ch'en Ta-k'ang (p. 59) 73

Strengthen Building of Leading Groups - by Shih P'ing (p. 61) 75

Develop the Excellent Situation of Stability and Unity - by Pa Shan (p. 65) 80

What Standard Should Be Applied to Students? (p. 68) 84

Isotope Chronology and Man's Knowledge of the History of Development of Nature - by Chu Ping-ch'üan and Chou Hsin-hua (p. 71) 88

The Economic Root Cause of the Soviet Revisionists' Quest for World Hegemony - by Liang Hsiao (p. 81) 99

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Unless otherwise indicated, these materials are full translations of articles appearing in People's Republic of China periodicals.

Quotations from Chairman Mao

Our nation will no longer be a nation humiliated by others. We have stood up. Our revolution has won the sympathy and cheers of the vast masses of the people throughout the world. We have friends all over the world.

The merit of the book Water Margin lies precisely in the portrayal of capitulation. It serves as teaching material by negative example to help all people recognize capitulationism.

Water Margin is against corrupt officials only, but not the emperor. It excludes Ch'ao Kai from the 108 people. Sung Chiang pushes capitulationism, practices revisionism, changes Ch'ao's Chü-i T'ing to Chung-i T'ang, and accepts the offer of amnesty and enlistment. Sung Chiang's struggle against Kao Ch'iu is a struggle waged by one faction against another within the landlord class. As soon as he surrenders, Sung Chiang goes to fight Fang La.

Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is essential to make this question clear. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This must be made known to the whole nation.

Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire.

Go all out, aim high, and build socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

We have a rural population of over five hundred million, so the situation of our peasants has a most important bearing on the development of our economy and the consolidation of our state power.

Grasp revolution, promote production, work and preparations against war.

* * *

Seriously Sum Up Experience in Learning from Tachai in Agriculture

by

T'an Feng (譚枫)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 10, October 1, 1975)

Encouraged by the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the mass movement to learn from Tachai has developed rapidly in our country in recent years. The masses and cadres in the countryside have become more and more conscious of looking upon learning from Tachai as a major task for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. Tachai's fundamental experience in adhering to the Party's basic line, roundly criticizing revisionism and capitalism, and going all out for socialism has spread all over the country. Tachai-type production brigades and communes are found all over the countryside. There are also a number of Tachai-type counties. "Work hard for 3 to 5 years to make a Tachai-type county"--this is being said and done by cadres and masses in north and south, in the heartland and border areas, and in mountainous areas and plains. The intensive development of this movement has profoundly changed the outlook of the countryside politically, economically, ideologically, culturally and in other aspects. The masses and cadres in the countryside have continuously raised their consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle and become more and more dynamic in criticizing capitalism and building socialism. Farmland capital construction centering on soil improvement and water conservation is expanding constantly, the pace of technical transformation of agriculture is accelerating and ability to cope with natural disasters is becoming stronger. On top of 13 consecutive years of bumper harvests, bumper harvests of summer grain and early rice have been reaped again this year. The collective economy of the people's communes is more developed and strengthened, and the socialist position in the countryside more fortified. The Tachai road becomes broader and broader as it is followed.

There have been two struggles against the revisionist line pushed by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao since Chairman Mao issued the call to learn from Tachai. Tachai has become ever stronger through these struggles and its experience ever more enriched and developed. After peasants took the the road of cooperation in the countryside, they have been faced with a series of questions, such as how to persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and strengthen all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie; how to develop the superiority of the people's commune system; how, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, to persist in putting proletarian politics in command, rely on the masses and rely on our own efforts to develop socialist agriculture with greater, faster, better and more economical results; and how to pay attention to restricting bourgeois rights in order to create conditions for gradually uprooting the soil that engenders capitalism and narrowing the three major differences. Tachai has supplied valuable experience in these respects. In the countryside

throughout the country, hundreds of millions of cadres and people, integrating Tachai's experience with local conditions, learning from Tachai's spirit and following the Tachai road, have struggled to transform nature and combat the enemy. They have transformed their subjective world while transforming the objective world. They have worked hard to create both material and ideological conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new bourgeoisie to arise. This is a great revolutionary movement in the countryside enabling the proletariat to triumph over the bourgeoisie, socialism over capitalism and Marxism over revisionism. In this respect, very good experience has been accumulated everywhere. An important task in persisting in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the countryside is to apply the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a theoretical weapon to conscientiously sum up these experiences, particularly experience in building Tachai-type counties, make further efforts to unfold the mass movement to learn from Tachai, and build more Tachai-type counties as soon as possible.

Practice shows that in building a Tachai-type county, as Hsiyang has done, the key lies in the leadership. Tachai's experience can be popularized quickly throughout all communes and production brigades and teams if a county has a good leading body in the county Party committee, one that follows a correct ideological and political line, practices Marxism, is closely united, firmly grasps the key link of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines, has the lofty ambition to build a great socialist agriculture, and maintains a hard-working style. Here lies the key to Hsiyang's having become a Tachai-type county very quickly. Here also lies the key for the emergence of many advanced counties of the country in learning from Tachai and catching up with Hsiyang. People in Tachai usually say: "The locomotive is what makes the train run fast." So it is with a production brigade. So it is with a commune, a county, a prefecture or a province. The county that has a Party committee consciously persisting in continuing the revolution can be expected to turn into a Tachai-type county very quickly. The prefecture that pays attention to grasping the ideological and organizational building of the county Party committee as the leading body can expect to have a great number of Tachai-type counties emerging in quick succession.

Chairman Mao has said: "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything". To lead a county in learning from Tachai, it is fundamental that the members of the county Party committee follow a correct ideological and political line. Only by following a correct line can they grasp the fundamentals when learning from Tachai and master as well as disseminate Tachai's experience. Speaking of the line, it is necessary to emphasize the Party's basic line, the struggle between the two classes and two roads, and the proletariat's dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. The people must be reminded of this every year, every month and every day. What Tachai has carried out is the basic line formulated by Chairman Mao; what it has followed is the socialist

road indicated by Chairman Mao; what it has done is continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. To learn from Tachai, it is necessary to learn exactly these things. Only by learning from Tachai in this way can we really learn from its fundamental experience. Many advanced counties that have learned from Tachai have this common experience: In the beginning they learned from Tachai as a typical example in production--superficial things, not the fundamentals. As a result, after years of learning, their physical conditions remained the same, as did the mentality of the people. Since the beginning of the great proletarian cultural revolution, lessons have been drawn through criticism of the revisionist line, the correct line has been followed, and cadres and the masses have been mobilized to study theory, grasp the line and criticize revisionism and capitalism. As a result, their consciousness has been raised thorugh study and criticism, evil capitalist tendencies have been crushed, socialist resolve has been intensified, and the mass movement to learn from Tachai has been unfolded as easily as bamboo is split. This shows that the correctness or incorrectness of the line being followed by the county Party committee determines the scope and speed of the movement to learn from Tachai in that particular county.

Many comrades put it well: The speed of learning from Tachai depends on the leadership, not the masses, and on the line, not existing conditions. If the leadership follows an erroneous line, evades responsibility, has no fighting prowess, is timid in grasping class struggle and half-hearted in grasping the production struggle, and tolerates the influence of capitalism, mass socialist enthusiasm will not be generated, nor will major progress be achieved no matter how good the conditions are. On the other hand, if the leadership follows a correct line, things will be entirely different. Shouyang county, adjacent to Hsiyang, used to be a poverty-stricken place which experienced no change for many years. Learning from Tachai, trying to catch up with Hsiyang, conscientiously implementing the Party's basic line and combating capitalism, it achieved a thorough change within a span of 2 years. Then there is Suchien county in Kiangsu. Located in the lower reaches of the I, Shu and Ssu rivers north of the Huai River, the county consisted largely of alkali and saline land, barren rocks and sandy beaches. Frequently subject to drought and water-logging, the county was notorious for low grain yields and its deficiency in food supply. Per-mow grain output long lingered at around 200 catties. The state had to supply it with over 50 million catties of grain each year. Later, the members of the county Party committee united on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line through positive ideological struggle. The movement to learn from Tachai's fundamental experience was unfolded, the class enemy's subversive activities were countered, and evil capitalist tendencies were arrested. Consequently, remarkable progress was made in each of 5 consecutive years. In the first year, it became self-sufficient in grain. In the second year, it sold surplus grain to the state. In the third, its grain output surpassed the quota set in the National Program for Agricultural Development. In the fourth, its grain output more than doubled that of the previous year. In the fifth, its total grain output was still over 7 percent more than in the fourth, despite serious natural disasters. This year, its output of wheat and barley topped last year's by 50 million catties; the increase in output in one season surpassed the total increases in output in the whole of last year. Many such facts show that "the masses have a potentially inexhaustible enthusiasm for socialism,"

and that as long as the leadership adheres to the correct line and dares to fight the class enemy and criticize the capitalist tendencies, it is quite possible to bring the masses' enthusiasm into full play, change the poorest conditions, overcome the greatest difficulties and make big strides in learning from Tachai.

Only by adhering to the correct line can a county Party committee conscientiously grasp the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines, persist in educating the peasants with Mao Tsetung Thought and see to it that the basic task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat is carried out right through to every grassroots unit. Even after the realization of agricultural cooperation, the struggle between the two classes and the two roads in the countryside not only continues to exist but is still complicated and sharp. Within the collective economy, the use of labor power, planting plans, sales of agricultural and sideline products, the development of commune and brigade-run enterprises, and the distribution of collective incomes all involve the question of what line is to be carried out and what road is to be taken. This kind of struggle will inevitably find expression in the commune and brigade leading groups. As a rule, old and new bougeois elements and a few persons with a rather serious tendency toward capitalism will, by hook or by crook, woo and corrupt the rural cadres at the grassroots level in a vain attempt to cover up and obtain a green light for their capitalist acts through these cadres. This requires leading comrades of the county Party committees to earnestly study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and firmly bear in mind the Party's basic line so as to keep themselves sober-minded at all times. In this way, they will be able to correctly understand and handle the question of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines in the countryside and draw a clear line of demarcation between socialism and capitalism. They will not mistake correct things for erroneous ones and criticize them, nor will they regard the wrong things as correct and give their approval. In the movement to learn from Tachai, they will pay attention to educating the grassroots cadres in ideology and political line with perseverance, correctly lead these cadres to fight against revisionism and capitalism, and make a success of the revolutionization of commune and brigade leading groups. This is precisely what the advanced counties in learning from Tachai have been doing.

Firmly grasping the work of transforming backward units under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is also an important task in building Tachai-type counties. To build a Tachai-type county, all communes and brigades must learn from Tachai so that flowers of Tachai will bloom everywhere in the county. Every commune and brigade must criticize capitalism, build socialism and carry out the dictatorship of the proletariat in the same manner as Tachai. This requires us to grasp not only advanced units but also backward ones. In some places the Tachai experience has been well popularized and Tachai-type counties have come into being, while in other places there are but few advanced communes and brigades. Why? One of the chief reasons is that in the former case the leading comrades of the county Party committees have conscientiously grasped the transformation of backward communes and brigades, while in the latter they have failed to do so.

In Anhsiang county, Hunan, there were previously five communes which had long been in a backward state. They adversely affected the county's progress in both revolution and production. Later, the principal responsible comrades of the county Party committee led the cadres to go to these communes and help them solve the problems of orientation and road. As a result, the county's movement to learn from Tachai changed from an uneven state to a relatively even state, as did the development of its agricultural production. In 1974 the county's grain yield per-mow reached more than 1,100 catties, the yield of ginned cotton per mow was 142 catties, and the number of hogs averaged one head for each individual. Another example is Itung county, Kirin, which paid special attention to solving problems in 52 backward brigades while grasping the advanced ones. The outcome is that, of the 22 communes of that county, one has met the target set in the National Program for Agricultural Development and all the other 21 communes have scored a grain yield equivalent to the target for areas south of the Yellow River. Whether in a county, a prefecture or a province, attention must be paid to grasping backward units. It is necessary to grasp advanced units in order to bring forward the backward, and to grasp the backward so as to further promote the work of the advanced. By having the advanced and backward units promote each other, we will be able to popularize the Tachai experience quickly from points to the whole area and thus speed the effort in building Tachai-type counties.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Unite for one purpose, that is, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This must be realized in every factory, village, office and school." If we are content with a few advanced models and do not grasp the backward units, then the differences in various respects will be enlarged between production brigades and between communes. This will be detrimental to our goal of taking the socialist road of common prosperity and to our effort to carry out the basic task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat right through to every grassroots unit. Why grasp the advanced units? This is not for decorating the facade. The aim is to spur on the development of revolution and production in the whole area by means of typical examples. When a backward unit fails to learn from an advanced unit or when it learns but not very well, we should push it forward, encourage it and lend it a helping hand. The so-called backward units are those whose work has lagged behind others, beset with more problems and greater difficulties, whose collective economy is not so well developed and whose socialist position is not so well consolidated. This, in the main, is related to the line carried out by the leading groups there. Such a situation has remained unchanged for a long time often because the high-level cadres have not visited them frequently and have not shown much concern about them. This explains the greater need for our leading comrades to go to these units to make investigations and studies and help them solve their problems in a down-to-earth way.

Of course, working in such places is harder and in all probability will meet with numerous troubles and difficulties. But this is a test for our cadres. "We work and struggle for the purpose of solving difficulties. A good comrade should be willing to go where there are great diffiuclties." After studying Chairman Mao's teachings and overcoming the fear of hardships and difficulties, many county Party committee comrades have gone to backward

units and stayed there to engage in labor, conduct investigations and studies and help solve problems. Their practice has indicated that it is not hard to change the situation of backward units. If we persist in examining questions from the viewpoint of one dividing into two, use the method of "from the masses, to the masses," and carry forward the hard-working and plain-living style, we can find the principal contradictions in those units and the correct ways of solving them. Many facts have shown that in backward units the masses are not backward. We should have faith in the masses there and believe that the majority of the Party members and cadres there want to make revolution. We should closely rely on the poor and lower-middle peasants, unite with the middle peasants, thoroughly implement the Party's basic line, strictly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions and deal blows to the disruptive activities of the class enemies. We should make ceaseless efforts to imbue the cadres and masses with socialist ideology, criticize the capitalist tendencies and mobilize them to read and study seriously, solve the question of orientation and road and carry out the policies correctly. We should help them develop the collective economy by keeping to the self-reliance principle. In this way, the situation of the backward units can be improved quickly.

Having leading cadres go to backward units will not only help bring about a change in the situation of such units but will also assist the leading cadres in changing their own spiritual outlook. Carrying forward the same vigor and the same daring death-defying spirit displayed in the years of revolutionary war, our leading cadres, with packs on their backs and hoes on their shoulders, march to those hard places to live and work with the basic-level rural cadres and the poor and lower-middle peasants and join them in studying the question of learning from Tachai, implementing the Party's basic line and building a socialist new countryside. This is a task of far-reaching significance in restricting bourgeois rights and gradually narrowing the three major differences. After going to the basic-level units, many cadres have put down their official airs, wiped out the idealist spirit, and developed a deep friendship with poor and lower-middle peasants. New cadre-mass relations have developed with the progress of the movement to learn from Tachai. When cadres are concerned about the masses, and the masses cherish the cadres, and cadres and masses fight in unity, this will in turn further the deepening of the movement to learn from Tachai. This style of work should be promoted with every effort.

How are we to proceed with the building of Tachai-type counties? This also requires a relatively comprehensive and feasible long-range plan. As indicated by experiences in many localities, whether there is such a plan will make a great deal of difference. The merit of such a plan is that "it sets a long-range target, so that the people's scope of sight will not be limited to the one step currently taken by them." Arousing the masses to work out a long-range plan will open up a new vista for them in the great goal ahead, thereby firing them with revolutionary enthusiasm and boosting their fighting morale. This will be conducive to bringing the initiative of the cadres and masses into full play and guiding them to a correct orientation. By pooling their wisdom and efforts for a single goal, the cadres and masses can do big jobs and become more daring and capable.

The availability of such a plan will also enable them to do everything in an orderly instead of a blind manner. This will not cause any waste in labor and material but will be good for the protection of the mass enthusiasm. By summing up historical experiences and lessons, Minlo county, Kansu, has raised its awareness. Through investigations and study and consulting with the masses, it worked out a 10-year development plan, thus boosting the fighting will of the people throughout the county. Paying attention to future tasks and grasping current ones, they have since October of last year leveled 65,000 mow of strip fields, built 6 small and medium-sized reservoirs, opened some 800 channels with a total length of more than 330 kilometers, and cultivated some 6,000 mow of tree saplings. With the deepgoing development of the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture, the significance of formulating plans has come to the attention of more and more people. The masses in various localities are being aroused to map out their own plans. A brigade has its own plan, so does a commune and a county. These plans call for changing not only the features of mountains, land and rivers but also the spiritual outlook of man. Plans are set after consideration of political, economic, ideological and cultural factors, and the masses are led to work hard and carry them out step by step. This will be good for developing socialist agriculture and fulfilling the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat right through to every grassroots unit.

In the mass movement to learn from Tachai, conservative ideas such as that it is impossible to do this and that often appear to cause trouble. That these ideas find expression in leading groups has a great deal to do with the influence of the force of habit of small production. The mode of small production is characterized by "small" and "private," hence it has many weaknesses. Under the influence of these things, people often lack farsightedness and cannot see the collective might of the masses. They feel content with some small achievements, bow to difficulties, cherish no great ambitions, and dare not think or act. "Only by extricating themselves from the confines of small production can they march forward in big strides in learning from Tachai." This is the common understanding of many advanced units in learning from Tachai. Only by studying Marxism, unfolding active ideological struggle, constantly wiping out the influence of the force of habit of small production and fostering a lofty will of the proletariat can we have a longer range view, exert greater effort and advance continuously.

What do we rely upon in going all out for developing socialist agriculture in a big way? We rely upon Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies, the superiority of the people's communes, the socialist enthusiasm of the millions upon millions of peasants, and the Tachai spirit. All of the several hundred advanced counties in learning from Tachai throughout the country have relied on the masses in achieving rejuvenation through self-reliance under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. As tangible proof, 10 counties on the Tibetan highland averaging over 4,000 meters above sea level have reached the target for per-mow grain yield set in the National Program for Agricultural Development or have surpassed the target set for areas south of the Yellow River. By relying on the masses we will have more courage, and through self-reliance we will have more methods. In formulating and carrying out plans, we must fully arouse the

masses and proceed from the basic point of self-reliance. This is the source of strength in learning from Tachai, and it is also a reliable guarantee for achieving quick results through strenuous efforts. "Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, they will turn into a material force for remolding society and the world." Socialist construction in agriculture will be carried out with greater, faster, better and more economic results if we bring the enthusiasm of the rural cadres, poor and lower-middle peasants, commune members and rusticated educated young people into full play and organize the forces of all trades and professions to support agriculture through education in ideology and political line and in accordance with the Party's principles and policies. A permanent task of socialist revolution still lies ahead of us on the agricultural front, including the economic base and the superstructure. There is still a task of realizing farm mechanization. It is our firm belief that guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, through the arduous struggle of the millions upon millions of the masses, and as long as we work hard, we can surely do a good job in socialist revolution and construction in the rural areas, set up Tachai-type counties all over the nation, and quicken the pace of agricultural mechanization and modernization.

* * *

Run Medium and Small Industries Actively and Well

by

Chiang Hung (江虹)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 10, Oct. 1, 1975)

Vigorous and thriving scenes can be seen everywhere on our country's industrial front under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the workers and cadres have noticeably raised their consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. The Party's basic line and its general line for building socialism have been imprinted ever more deeply on people's minds. The mass movement to learn from Tach'ing in industry is surging ahead on an unprecedentedly large scale. We not only have built or are building many large modern enterprises, but a large number of medium and small enterprises have sprung up in urban and rural areas like bamboo shoots after spring rain and are playing an increasingly positive role.

In 1956, summing up China's experience in socialist construction, Chairman Mao pointed out: "We must build a number of large-scale modern enterprises step by step to form the backbone of our industry, without which we shall not be able to turn our country into a strong modern industrial country within the coming decades. But the majority of our enterprises should not be built on such a scale; we should set up more small and medium enterprises and make full use of the industrial base left over from the old society, so as to effect the greatest economy and do more with less money." Practice has proved that the policy of simultaneous development of both large and small and medium enterprises, laid down by Chairman Mao, is entirely correct. Earnestly implementing this policy is conducive to bringing the initiative of the central and local authorities into full play, to better carrying out the general principle of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor in developing the national economy, to upholding the principle of maintaining independence and keeping initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts, and to promoting the development of industrial production at a high speed.

Chairman Mao points out: "It is far better for the initiative to come from two sources than from only one." Making vigorous efforts to develop small and medium industries, including industries run by people's communes and production brigades, is beneficial to giving full scope to the initiative of the local authorities in building and running industries under unified central planning. Modern large-scale enterprises, which use advanced technology and have a high labor productivity, constitute the main material basis for technical transformation of all branches of the national economy. In the course of socialist construction, it is entirely necessary to build a number of large-scale enterprises in a planned and systematic manner and to strengthen our leadership over such enterprises. However, large amounts of capital investment and major equipment are needed to build large-scale enterprises, and the technical requirements are very high. As far as a province or a region is concerned, due to the fact that

its resources, funds, equipment and other conditions are limited, it is impossible for it to build many large-scale enterprises. If it were asked to build a great number of them, it would have to approach the central authorities for funds and equipment. On the contrary, it is much easier to solve the problems of funds, equipment and technology in building small and medium enterprises. Building such enterprises needs less time, and funds can be turned over or accumulated faster. The localities can make full use of such advantages, and according to their own abilities, mobilize the masses to carry out a mass movement in a big way and rely on their own strength to build such small and medium enterprises on the basis of needs and possibilities as well as local conditions. In this way, it will be possible to bring all positive factors into full play, to make full use of local resources, to develop small townships, to bring about a rational geographical distribution of industry, and to break down foreign conventions and follow our own road in developing industry. Moreover, it will be possible to implement better the great strategic principle "Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people," and help reduce the three major differences. A small or medium enterprise is small in scale and limited in output, but "the fire burns high when everybody adds wood to it." When more small and medium enterprises are put together their total production capability will be tremendous. Take chemical fertilizer, for instance. The quantity of synthetic ammonia produced by the small chemical fertilizer plants in Kiangsu province at present is four times that turned out by the large chemical fertilizer plants in the province. If efforts were made to build large enterprises only, and not small and medium enterprises, it would amount to walking on only one leg, and industry would surely be developed with fewer, slower, poorer and more costly results.

There is plenty of room for the development of medium and small industries, particularly for the development of industries run by rural communes and production brigades. China's vast countryside is rich in natural resources, with a population accounting for more than 80 percent of the nation's total. It has great potentials in manpower and material resources for the development of industry. Especially after the great proletarian cultural revolution, the mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture has flourished, and the enthusiasm of the masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and commune members for running industry has soared higher and higher. As long as we bring into full play the superior role of the people's communes, which are bigger in size and have a higher degree of public ownership, and further whip up the socialist enthusiasm of the broad masses in the countryside under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, industries set up by people's communes and production brigades will definitely flourish with greater, faster, better and more economical results, and this will promote the development of industry as a whole.

In order to implement still better the general principle of developing the national economy by taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor and to quicken the tempo in agricultural mechanization, from the viewpoint of a locality, it is also necessary to build more small and medium industries. The fundamental way out for agriculture lies in mechanization. A considerable number of areas in Kiangsu province are high-yielding grain and cotton areas, with a very high multiple cropping index, and there are also a number of areas where there is much

land and a small pupulation. In all these areas labor power is strained and labor intensity is great, entailing the urgent need for machines to substitute for the human hand in farm operations. Where do machines come from? We will not have enough farm machines if we rely only on big enterprises to produce them. A better method is walking on two legs. In addition to large farm machinery plants, counties, communes and production brigades should be able to produce some small farm machines and implements or do some assembling and repair work. China has a fine tradition of intensive farming. The topographical features, climatic conditions and farming systems vary greatly from place to place, so do the needs for farm machines and implements. By placing the main emphasis on small and medium industries, it will be possible to better meet the needs of agricultural development in quantity, variety, and performance and to provide more timely aid to agriculture. In recent years, Kiangsu province has set up a tractor plant in each prefecture to suit different natural conditions and farming systems. For instance, medium-sized tractors are produced in the Hsü-huai flat areas, and small-sized hand-pulled tractors are produced in areas with a water network along the river. Practice proves that this is a good way to raise more quickly the level of farm mechanization in the whole province.

Wuhsi county is an example. In the past, due to interference from the revisionist lines of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, local industry developed sluggishly in this county. In many places "people yearn for machines when they have none. When machines are available, they can't afford to buy them. When their machines break down, they can hardly repair them." In 1965, the county had only six tractors. Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, with the mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture rapidly developing, the vast numbers of poor and lower-middle peasants, in order to increase grain production and make more contributions, actively improved the farming system and raised the multiple cropping index. Thus the contradiction in manpower in busy farming seasons became even more conspicuous, entailing the urgent need for industrial departments to supply more and better farm machines, water conservation and power equipment, chemical fertilizer, insecticides, and building materials. The cadres and masses in Wuhsi county did not wait and rely on state support. Instead, implementing the policy of walking on two legs as laid down by Chairman Mao, they self-reliantly and actively developed industries run by the county, communes and production brigades, arming themselves with the farm machines they themselves produced. In 1974, the county had set up more than 1,600 factories with the total industrial output value reaching nearly 270 million yuan. It could produce not only ordinary medium-sized and small farm tools but also tractors and diesel engines in large quantity. Now, the county has machines with a combined capacity of 210,000 horsepower, averaging one horsepower for every four mow of land. The area of land plowed by machines accounts for over 90 percent of the total cultivated area. In the past 9 years, the county built 994 power-operated irrigation stations, dug 1,446 kilometers of underground channels, provided 98 percent of the production teams with electricity, and basically achieved mechanization or semi-mechanization in cultivation, threshing, plant protection, irrigation and drainage as well as grain and fodder processing. In 1974, the county's per-mow yield of grain reached 1,467 catties.

To actively build small and medium industries to meet the needs in the development of agriculture and to gradually set up a local industrial system to serve agriculture will not only vigorously promote agricultural development, but, in the wake of new demands placed on industry by the higher level of agricultural production, will promote development of industry itself. To solve the problems for agriculture in the fields of drainage and irrigation, grain and sideline product processing, cultivation and transportation, it is necessary to develop the machine-building and construction material industries. In meeting the needs in the supply of farm drugs and chemical fertilizer, it is necessary to develop the chemical industry. The development of the machine-building, construction material and chemical industries has in turn promoted further development of the coal, metallurgical, power, and raw materials industries. The masses appropriately refer to this relationship of mutual promotion as "snowballing of all industries with the emphasis on agriculture."

Should we rely on our own efforts and on the masses in actively developing small and medium industries while developing large industries, or should we rely on the support of the state and go in for anything big, modern and complete while belittling small and medium industries? This reflects the struggle between the two lines on the industrial front. Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao trumpeted "big, modern and complete," and opposed the policy of maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts. This is a concrete manifestation of their revisionist line of worshiping anything foreign, and we must continue to criticize it. At the same time, we must also educate certain people within our own ranks to change their erroneous thinking of worshiping "big, modern and complete" and belittling small and medium industries and despising the masses. As for those who have blind faith in "big, modern and complete," their ways of thinking are metaphysical. They do not understand that a big thing develops from a small thing and a small thing can be transformed into a big thing, that modern things develop from their indigenous form and the indigenous can be transformed into the modern, and that what is complete evolves from what is incomplete and the incomplete can be transformed into the complete.

In producing hand-drawn tractors, Ch'angchou city twice drew up a "big, modern and complete" plan and failed on both occasions. Later, it relied on its own efforts and tapped the potential of old factories. It made use of water pump plants to do the general assembly, diesel engine factories to provide the power, foundries to manufacture metal sheets and farm tool repair and assembly shops to make the gear. More than 10 units joined their efforts to produce tractors by taking advantage of their own specialities. In two years time, the city acquired the capacity to produce 3,000 hand-drawn tractors annually. After vigorous development of technical innovations, the city is now capable of producing 15,000 hand-drawn tractors annually. Its experience indicates that it is necessary to fully utilize the existing foundation and use simple and indigenous methods under unified planning. Around certain major products, the lines between various trades are broken and all related factories are organized to cooperate closely to form a "one-dragon" production line. At the same time, systematic technical transformation is carried out and the level of mechanization and automation

is gradually raised. This is a good method to accelerate the development of industry. When Ch'angchou city was organizing several small factories to produce tractors, some people said that "it is impossible to stage an opera on top of a table." The workers replied proudly: "It is possible to stage an opera if we put several tables together to make a stage." These words contain dialectical thinking. Today, in Kiangsu province "one dragon" cooperation is effected not only within a city but also throughout the province. Such socialist large-scale cooperation is conducive to implementing the policy of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts. It will help tap the potential of existing industries, display the revolutionary spirit of hard work and austerity, hasten the development of industry and demonstrate the superiority of the socialist system.

To run small and medium industries well, it it essential to grasp the line and firmly act according to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. It is a mistake to ignore the question of orientation and road for small and medium enterprises and to allow capitalist tendencies to spread unchecked. But it is also a mistake to act timidly and not to positively support new-born things, not to develop small and medium industries, particularly those run by communes and brigades. Characteristically small and medium industries are widely scattered and large in number and also differ in ownership as some are owned by the whole people while others by the collective. In view of the existence of the commodity system and exchange through money, if the line is wrong, we are prone to be dominated by the law of value and depart from the socialist orientation. As seen from the development of industry in many localities, the question of whether to place politics or profit in command and of whether to give first place to supporting agriculture or to making money reflects in an acute way the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines, a struggle which will be protracted in both large and small and medium enterprises. We must always keep in mind Chairman Mao's teaching "the line is the key link; once it is grasped, everything falls into place." We must run small and medium enterprises with a positive attitude, and at the same time, we must fully realize the complex nature of this struggle, make the best of the situation and defeat capitalism with socialism.

For this reason, it is necessary to strengthen Party leadership over small and medium industries. In recent years, particularly since our study of Chairman Mao's important instruction on theory, Party organizations in many localities, taking the Party's basic line as the key link, have firmly grasped the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. Using the theory of proletarian dictatorship as a weapon, they have criticized putting profit in command and material incentives and combated capitalist tendencies. They have made proper adjustments in light of major problems which crop up in each period. This has played a decisive role in insuring the healthy growth of all small and medium industries. Throughout the socialist period there is the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. In order to combat and prevent revisionism, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and prevent the restoration of capitalism, we must from now on continue to strengthen Party leadership over small and medium industries, criticize revisionism and capitalist tendencies, restrict bourgeois rights, and help these industries develop along the socialist path.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, enterprises run by communes and brigades have blossomed like mountain flowers all over the motherland, demonstrating the strong vitality of this socialist new-born thing. Herein lies our great and brilliant hope. The development of this new-born thing is of tremendous significance in consolidating and expanding the collective economy of the people's communes, in accelerating the realization of farm mechanization, in reducing the three major differences, and in developing the socialist economic base and superstructure. At the present stage the commune economy is generally marked by three-level ownership with the production team as the basic accounting unit. The transition to the unified accounting of the brigade and then to that of the commune will be gradually effected in the future. An important condition for the realization of this transition is more vigorous development of the economies at the commune and brigade levels. But to expand these economies, apart from promoting an all-round development of agricultural production, it is necessary to develop the commune- and brigade-run industries energetically. In Wuhsi county the commune- and brigade-run industries have developed relatively fast, and the proportion of the economies at the commune and brigade levels is also relatively large. In 1974, fixed assets at the commune and brigade levels already accounted for 55 percent of the total fixed assets at the three levels. We should ardently support this socialist new-born thing--commune- and brigade-run industries. We should strengthen Party leadership over them, believe in and rely on the masses in running them well and developing and expanding them continuously from small to big. "In order to grow, every new-born thing has to experience difficulties and setbacks." The development of commune- and brigade-run enterprises will also be confronted with this or that problem. However, as long as we adhere to the Party's basic line, sum up promptly both positive and negative experience, persist in doing what is good and rectify what is bad, no problem will be too difficult to be solved. We must firmly bear in mind Chairman Mao's teachings, distinguish between the essential and non-essential aspects of things and the primary and secondary things. "We cannot overlook problems of a non-essential or secondary nature, but must solve them one by one. But we should not regard these as things of essential and primary nature and confuse ourselves as to where we are going." The historical experience on this question must not be forgotten.

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." The practice of the 26 years since the founding of the People's Republic has proved that whenever we act on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, industry will develop along the socialist path and at a fast rate, and that whenever we suffer from the interference and sabotage of the revisionist line, industry will develop in a direction against socialism and at a slow rate and may even stagnate or regress. Historical experience merits attention. We must take the Party's basic line as the key link, conscientiously sum up our experience in developing industry, including small and medium industries, and further raise our awareness in implementing Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. We must run more and better small and medium industries on the basis of the policy of simultaneously developing big, medium and small industries and make still greater contributions to consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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Do a Good Job in Transforming Brigades That Lag Behind

by

Hsiyang County CCP Committee

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 10, Oct. 1, 1975)

Since early this year, in the movement to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, we have, bearing reality in mind, analyzed the county's situation in learning from Tachai in agriculture. On the plane of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, we have studied the question of how to continue to do a good job in transforming the brigades that lag behind. To this end, the county Party committee sent out more than 20 investigation teams to make an in-depth survey of backward brigades, putting the stress on helping the cadres and masses of these brigades study the theory of proletarian dictatorship and adhere to the correct orientation and line. On this basis, special meetings were held on the results of theoretical studies in backward brigades, which were helped to find out how they lagged behind Tachai and their problems and were encouraged to work hard to improve themselves fast. In this way, a number of backward brigades changed their thinking, worked hard and quickly caught up with the advanced brigades. Their progress not only influenced those in-between brigades but also shocked the advanced ones. Everyone felt that the situation was pressing. After this period of work we realized deeply that, following the in-depth development of the movement to learn from Tachai, the revolutionary situation in which "the backward strata among the masses are rising up and working hard to catch up with the advanced strata" requires leaders at all levels to correctly adjust their thinking and improve their work in order to meet the needs of the developing objective situation.

Doing a good job in transforming brigades that lag behind is both necessary in fulfilling the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and an important link in speeding up agricultural development and building Tachai-type counties. Since the great proletariat cultural revolution, in the course of launching the movement to learn from Tachai in depth, we have successively handled a number of backward brigades. Most of these brigades are production units with "long-standing, big and difficult problems." They have a large population, much land and great potentials. After criticizing revisionism and capitalism and building socialism in a big way, they have changed their features markedly, and some have become advanced units in learning from Tachai. But the development of things is uneven. Advanced and backward units exist in comparison with each other. The in-depth development of the movement to learn from Tachai continues to present new and higher demands. Under these circumstances, some brigades which are able to persist in continuing the revolution have become still more advanced. Some brigades, making little or no progress at all, have lagged behind. Our initial investigations show that, in the light of our requirements to build Tachai-type brigades, nearly 20 percent of the brigades in our county are still backward. Most of these brigades are small and located in villages in remote mountainous areas. Although these units have achieved varying progress over the past few years as a result of the push by the movement to learn from Tachai, relatively serious capitalist tendencies still exist there. Their collective economy is still

not strong enough and the dictatorship of the proletariat is not so consolidated. Their pace in developing production is also slow. For a time in the past, we mistakenly thought that as long as most of our county's brigades were advanced, these small-village brigades did not count very much. Hence, we paid attention only to helping advanced and large-village brigades and not to these backward brigades. As a result, when compared with the majority of the brigades, these backward brigades lagged behind still farther. This situation had an adverse effect on the socialist enthusiasm of backward brigades and hindered the overall and even development of the movement to learn from Tachai across the county.

To do a good job in transforming the backward brigades, it is first necessary to solve the question of how to correctly view and treat backward brigades. Regarding this question, we have come to realize the need to resolutely cast away the one-point theory and adhere to the two-point method. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we must be good at discovering the backward brigades' positive factors, arousing, expanding and promoting these factors in order to help the backward brigades become advanced units.

Do the backward brigades have positive factors? Is it possible for them to become advanced units? These questions have remained unsolved in the minds of many comrades for a long time. Some comrades always blamed these backward brigades, always complaining that the cadres of these backward units did not work hard enough, that the masses were backward, and that the work there could hardly be helped. This kind of thinking does not tally with the backward brigades' actual situation. Relatively speaking, backward brigades have more problems and their situation is more complicated. These problems can only be solved after painstaking investigation and study. But we must see the other side of the coin, which is also the principal side, namely immense socialist enthusiasm likewise exists among the masses of backward brigades. Over the past few years, in our work to help backward brigades, we have seen clearly that these brigades' poor and lower-middle peasants and commune members are determined to take the socialist road and urgently demand to change their backward situation. The majority of cadres there are also good or comparatively good. Essentially, they want revolution. Moreover, even in these areas, there are many advanced elements who resolutely take the socialist road, and socialist new things likewise continue to appear. The question is that cadres of the county and communes must discard the one-point theory and be good at applying the viewpoint of one dividing into two to essentially discover and stimulate these positive factors and latent strength. The Nanchuang brigade in our county's Kaolo commune had long been a backward brigade. People used to think that it could hardly be changed. Early this year, in the movement to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, cadres of our county and commune to which the brigade belongs, having changed their thinking, sent a work team to the brigade to help it use the Party's basic line to educate the masses and develop the struggle between the two roads in depth. Moreover, the work team actively supported good cadres who persisted in taking the socialist road and commended a group of advanced brigade members who cherished the collective interests. As a result, in the brigade the healthy wind prevailed over the undesirable wind. The brigade members' socialist enthusiasm was stimulated and their efforts to learn from Tachai achieved new successes. There are many examples of marked

changes like Nanchuang brigade. They all show that, to do a good job in transforming brigades that lag behind, it is first necessary to overcome the one-sided viewpoint among cadres before the real situation can be ascertained and correct methods adopted to help backward brigades solve their problems.

As a matter of fact, what is advanced and what is backward can be changed. Many advanced brigades are formerly backward brigades. Take our county's Nannao, Wuchiap'ing and Shihp'ing brigades, which are advanced units in learning from Tachai, for example. At first, they too were quite backward. But, in learning from Tachai, due to the efforts of the Party branches of these brigades to grasp the struggle between the two classes and the two roads, to criticize capitalism and to build socialism in a big way, they have radically changed their features. This shows that the process of the backward brigades being transformed into advanced brigades is a process in which, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and by means of struggle, their positive factors are constantly developed and strengthened and their negative factors are gradually overcome and eliminated so that their positive factors can assume the leading position. If we fail to discover and stimulate their positive factors but only negatively complain about, criticize and blame them, then the more we criticize, the more muddle-headed we become, and the more we complain, the more we will lose our spirit. This will only hurt the enthusiasm of cadres and masses of backward brigades to transform into advanced brigades. Therefore, in solving the problems of backward brigades, we must pay attention to two things: First, we must expose the contradictions and criticize what is wrong; otherwise we will not be able to see the question clearly nor distinguish right from wrong. Second, we must give play to the positive factors, support the new things and stimulate the revolutionary fighting spirit of cadres and the masses; otherwise we will not be able to bring their internal factors into play nor help backward brigades transform themselves into advanced brigades. Both these two things are necessary in implementing the Party's line and policies.

No matter how the problems of backward brigades are manifested, they are essentially still questions of whether to take the socialist or the capitalist road. In helping backward brigades, we always begin our work by grasping the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. The Tachai road is one of adhering to the Party's basic line, continuing the revolution and upholding the dictatorship of the proletariat. When we stress that we must learn the fundamentals in learning from Tachai, we primarily mean that we must firmly grasp the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines as a key link, go all out to criticize revisionism and capitalism and build socialism in a big way. This applies to all types of communes and brigades, and evidently more to backward brigades. In the past, some comrades lacked confidence in helping transform backward brigades mainly because they felt that class struggle there was complicated and difficult to handle. In fact, this is not true. The struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines has existed and will exist in the rural areas for a long time, and class struggle is a motive force which drives backward brigades forward. Many facts show that the reason why some brigades were backward was not that class struggle was especially complicated there, but that the leading groups failed to uphold the Party's basic line or firmly grasp class struggle. Once they

corrected their erroneous orientations and line and dared to firmly grasp class struggle, the situation changed rapidly. In Tungkou brigade, Hungshui commune, capitalist tendencies were relatively serious before. Through the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Party branch heightened its awareness, clarified its orientation, and made conscious efforts to take the lead in engaging in revolution. Both inside and outside the Party and from the cadres to the masses, capitalism was repeatedly criticized. Thus, revolution and production were vigorously developed and the brigade was completely changed. If we, like Tungkou brigade, solve the problems of backward brigades by grasping the key issues, then the work of transforming backward brigade will not be slow or too difficult. In the past some comrades of Party committees at the county and commune levels also grasped backward brigades, but because they seldom carried out meticulous and deepgoing investigation and study, they failed to truly grasp the orientation and road problem to help comrades of backward brigades deepen their understanding of the struggle between the two roads. Instead, they always used simple methods to deal with problems. As a result, problems of backward brigades became more intractable. Some change has been seen in this state of affairs.

In grasping class struggle in backward brigades, it is imperative to help them build up a Party branch which dares to combat capitalism and fight for socialism. The existence of so many problems in the leading groups of backward brigades stems mainly from their lack of an adequate study of theory and from their lack of awareness of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, it is necessary to pay serious attention to educating cadres of backward brigades in the theory of proletarian dictatorship. In the course of helping backward brigades, we have mainly conducted education in the following respects: namely, educating cadres in the Party's basic line to enable them to understand what is Marxist and what is revisionist, what is socialist and what is capitalist; using the idea of continuing the revolution to help cadres smash the narrow vision of small producers and foster the idea of struggling all their lives for communism; and using proletarian unselfishness to educate cadres and help them foster the idea of wholeheartedly serving the public and collective. The main aim of this education is to constantly enhance their awareness of class and line. We must not only boldly promote to principal leading posts those cadres who adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, maintain close ties with the masses and take the lead in working hard, but we must also pay attention to maintaining the relative stability of the cadre ranks. Helping cadres of backward brigades correct their erroneous lines and ideologies is better than replacing them. In doing a task, every cadre has to go through a process of learning, getting familiar with and improving it. He should be allowed to make and correct his mistakes. We should help him sum up experience and lessons in the practice of struggle. If we remove him from office once he commits a mistake, this would not comply with Chairman Mao's policy toward cadres, nor would it benefit the transformation of backward brigades.

To transform the features of backward brigades, it is also necessary to help them change their production conditions. Generally speaking, backward brigades are poor brigades, and their collective economic bases are rather weak. They have certain difficulties in developing production. So, on the premise of fully arousing the backward brigades' internal active factors, we have adopted a series of measures to help them

develop their collective economies. Priority is given to backward brigades in distributing machinery and equipment the state allocates for agriculture, and the benefits of backward brigades are first taken into consideration whenever the county and communes plan to build large and medium-sized farmland water conservation capital construction projects. For joint projects, more money is to come from the county and communes while more manpower is to be provided by the backward brigades. As for sideline occupations which the county- or commune-run enterprises undertake with backward brigades within the latter's capability, capital is to be provided by the county or communes and manpower by backward brigades, with equal division of profits. And wherever possible, some funds are to be set aside from the reserves of commune-run enterprises to assist backward brigades. In adopting these measures, we stick to two principles: One is to make sure that what we do helps promote the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle on the part of cadres and masses there, and the other is to make sure that our measures help develop the collective economies and change the production features there. Practice tells us that it is very important to uphold these two principles. A basic experience of Tachai is to persistently display the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle. If the cadres and masses of a brigade have not awakened and have no faith in nor rely on their own efforts to overcome difficulties, the aid given to it by the state and the collective will often fail to play its role and sometimes may even encourage the idea of depending on others among some people. However, if the socialist enthusiasm of the cadres and masses there has already been fully mobilized, giving the necessary financial aid to them will help them quickly transform their brigade's backward features.

The problems of backward brigades exist at the basic level, but the responsibility for this rests with the leadership of our county Party committee. Chairman Mao has taught us: "We must use practical methods to improve our work to drive the advanced further forward and to help the backward localities catch up with the advanced." What about our conditions? Generally speaking, we have given more attention to advanced brigades than to backward ones. Most of the present backward brigades are located in remote mountainous areas. During the war years, the cadres and masses there made contributions to the revolution, and these areas were advanced areas in the county at that time. After liberation, we moved into the cities and began to pay less attention to them. We visited them less often, helped them less, and relaxed our leadership over them. The masses criticized us, saying: "During the war, you ate and lived in the mountainous areas. Now, when we are building socialism, some cadres look down upon the mountainous areas and do not want to go there again." This criticism made us see that the attitude toward backward brigades is actually a reflection of the degree of ideological revolutionization of the county Party committee. Whether backward brigades are "easy or difficult to handle" depends on whether our county Party committee has a correct understanding of backward brigades and a correct workstyle. So, we have examined the work of the county Party committee for the cause of the existence of backward brigades, mobilized the cadres and masses to make suggestions to it, conducted serious self-criticism, and led a group of capable cadres to stay with backward brigades. In this way, while the revolutionization of the county Party committee itself has been enhanced, the revolutionization of the leading groups of backward brigades has been accelerated. This has pushed the mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture to develop in an all-round and deepgoing way.

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March Forward Triumphantly Under the Guidance of Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line

- Celebrating the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region

by

Saifudin (賽福鼎)*

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 10, Oct. 1, 1975)

In the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and at a time when the situation is excellent both at home and abroad, we have celebrated with great jubilation the 26th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China and the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region.

The 20 years since the founding of the autonomous region was a period in which the people of various nationalities in the region united in struggle under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and advanced triumphantly along the broad road of socialism. For 20 years the people of various nationalities, with unprecedented revolutionary enthusiasm, have waged struggles against nature, the class enemies, the incorrect line and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism which carries out subversion and aggression, and thereby brought about profound and tremendous changes in Sinkiang. The poor and backward old Sinkiang where the people suffered cruel and barbarous oppression and exploitation has been transformed into a socialist new Sinkiang which is growing in prosperity and where the people are the masters.

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." From the militant course traversed by the people of various nationalities in Sinkiang and their tremendous victories over the last 20 years, we have come to a profound understanding of the complete correctness of the proletarian revolutionary line and policies formulated by Chairman Mao for our Party. Every victory we have won is a victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies. Without the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party and the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, there would not have been the emancipation of the national minorities and the present prosperous socialist Sinkiang.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "In the final analysis, national struggle is a matter of class struggle." This is the most fundamental Marxist-Leninist principle in observing and handling the national question.

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* The author is an Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Vice Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, First Secretary of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Regional Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Chairman of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Regional Revolutionary Committee and First Political Commissar of the Sinkiang Military Area Command of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

A nationality is divided into classes. Every nationality consists of two kinds of people: a very small number of exploiters and a great number of laborers who make up the overwhelming majority of the population. Precisely as Lenin said: "In any really serious and profound political issue sides are taken according to classes, not nations." ("Critical Remarks on the National Question") The essence of national oppression in pre-liberation Sinkiang was that the exploiting classes of the national minorities colluded with the Han reactionary rulers to impose cruel political oppression and economic exploitation on the working people of various nationalities, including those of the Han nationality. Such oppression and exploitation were the sources of national antagonism and estrangement as well as the prolonged poverty and backwardness of the various national minorities. In order to thoroughly solve the national question, change the face of the national minority areas and enable all nationalities to take the bright road of common prosperity, it is therefore necessary to follow Chairman Mao's directives, grasp the class essence of the national question, adhere to the Party's basic line and carry the socialist revolution through to the end.

"Revolutions are the locomotives of history." (Karl Marx, "The Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850") Every change in the face of Sinkiang society in the past 20 years has been attained through big revolutionary movements and sharp class struggles. After liberation, we first destroyed the reactionary ruling organs at all levels and seized back political power and put it in the hands of the working class and other working people, and the people of various nationalities have thus become the genuine masters of history. Under the leadership of the Party, land reform was completed and feudal oppression and exploitation put to an end. This was immediately followed by the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce. The struggle between restoration and counter-restoration still has been very acute following the basic completion of the socialist transformation of ownership of the means of production. Using the remnant political, economic and cultural influence they still have, feudal landlords, herd-owners and all national minority reactionaries frequently have engaged in sabotage and disruptive activities under the national and religious cloak; they even colluded with class enemies abroad and incited counter-revolutionary armed riots in a vain attempt to seize back their lost "paradise." Led by the Party, the People's Liberation Army units stationed in Sinkiang and the people of various nationalities, keeping class struggle in mind at all times, have stripped the national splittists of their cloak of so-called "upholding national interests" and revealed the essence of class struggle, thereby enabling the masses not to be tricked and fooled by them; in addition, they have paid attention to strictly distinguish the two different types of contradictions and handle them correctly, and they have resolutely smashed the restoration plots of class enemies at home and abroad and insured the triumphant advance of the socialist revolution. The great proletarian cultural revolution, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and the current movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat have criticized the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, enormously raised the consciousness of the people of various nationalities in carrying out the Party's basic line,

combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, and pushed the development of the socialist revolution. Spurred on by revolution, undertakings on all fronts are thriving and socialist new things, like blossoming mountain flowers, are flourishing everywhere north and south of the T'ienshan Mountains. Facts have proved that without the successive socialist revolutionary movements, Sinkiang's excellent situation today would have been impossible.

For a long time chieftains of the revisionist line Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, working hand in glove with a handful of national splittists and the reactionary clique of the upper strata of the minority peoples, did their utmost to spread the theory of the dying out of class struggle, negated the class essence of the national question and obstructed the progress of the socialist revolution. For instance, on the question of evaluating the conditions for revolution, they always stressed this or that backward aspect in the national minority areas and did not want to give primary consideration to the fundamental and major factor, that is, the working people of various nationalities had suffered exceptionally heavy oppression and exploitation and had a very strong desire for revolution. The fact was the people in Sinkiang have boundless socialist enthusiasm and this is the most important condition for developing revolution and construction in areas inhabited by the minority nationalities. In the movement for agricultural cooperation, Chairman Mao warmly acclaimed that "the Uighur peasants are very eager to take the road to cooperation" ("Introductory note to 'Township and Village Officials Can Lead the Formation of Cooperatives'"), refuted the absurd saying that cooperation could not be carried out among the national minorities, and criticized the wrong view of looking down upon them. Practice has fully proved the correctness of Chairman Mao's wise thesis. Following the orientation pointed out by Chairman Mao, the peasants and herdsmen of various nationalities in Sinkiang brought about cooperation in agriculture and livestock-breeding in more or less the same period as did the 500 million peasants in other parts of the country, and they later set up people's communes at basically the same pace as the latter. However, the viewpoint that the national minorities cannot do this or that sometimes still found expression in the later revolutionary movements. Under the leadership of the Party, the people in Sinkiang have waged an unremitting struggle against this mistaken idea and won one victory after another in the socialist revolution.

Sinkiang is a multi-national region mainly inhabited by Uighurs. To implement the Party's basic line correctly, it is necessary to handle well the relationship between the general character in the law of development of class struggle of the various nationalities and the particularities in the national minority areas. In areas inhabited by national minorities, the principal contradiction is also class contradiction and the major struggle is class struggle. After more than 20 years of revolution and construction there have been remarkable changes in Sinkiang's backward state. And in the course of common development and prosperity, the people of various nationalities have become aware with increasing clarity that as far as the fundamental questions of revolution are concerned, the interests of the working people of the various nationalities are identical, as are the class demands of the people of the various national minorities and the people of the country as a whole. These are: Chairman Mao is the great leader of all nationalities,

the Chinese Communist Party is their core of leadership, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is their common guiding thought, the Party's basic line is their life-blood, the socialist-communist road is their common bright road, the dictatorship of the proletariat is their common protective weapon and the People's Republic of China is their inalienable great motherland. All these are the common interests and aspirations of the people of various nationalities and fundamental guarantees for their emancipation, unity and progress. Departing from these common demands and aspirations of the people of the whole country means going contrary to the fundamental interests and common aspirations of the working people of Sinkiang's various nationalities. Departing from the common law of class struggle, departing from the common class interests of the working people of various nationalities and dealing with the national question with a supra-class viewpoint will inevitably lead to a slide down the road of nationality chauvinism and to Right opportunist mistakes. At the same time we must realize that every nationality has its own course of emergence and development and its specific social and historical conditions. Therefore, it has its particularities in certain aspects. On the basis of the principle of fully observing the common law of clss struggle, it is necessary to conscientiously implement the Party's nationality policy and give full consideration to the particularity of work in national minority areas. If the Party's nationality policy is not conscientiously carried out, it is likely that "Leftist" mistakes will be committed in work.

One of the basic tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat is to develop the socialist economy vigorously under the impetus of socialist revolution. Chairman Mao has paid special attention to developing socialist economic construction in Sinkiang and repeatedly taught cadres in the region to do a good job in economic work by developing production, making the economy prosperous and improving the people's livelihood year after year. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, accelerating socialist construction and fully displaying the superiority of the socialist system are of very great significance in strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, successfully carrying out the struggle of combating and preventing revisionism and gradually eliminating the uneven economic and cultural development formed in the past among the various nationalities.

Downtrodden and ravaged by past reactionary ruling classes, Sinkiang was a very poor and backward region inhabited by national minorities. Could it carry out socialist construction at high speed? Those with Right conservative ideas and those who look down upon minority nationalities had great doubts. They always emphasized Sinkiang's economic and cultural backwardness and believed that construction there could not go ahead at high speed but had to be done slowly. Proletarian revolutionaries conceded that Sinkiang was poor and blank, but they believed that, as Chairman Mao pointed out, "on a blank sheet of paper free from any mark, the freshest and most beautiful characters can be written, the freshest and most beautiful pictures can be painted." ("Introducing a Cooperative") Moreover, vast Sinkiang has rich natural resources and more than 10 million industrious and courageous people of various nationalities, and it also has the sincere concern of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and the powerful assistance of fraternal provinces and autonomous regions. As long as we firmly carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, strengthen the Party's leadership in economic work and have full confidence in the masses and rely on them, socialist construction can certainly develop at high speed and any pessimistic view is groundless. This has been

most powerfully proved by the fact that Sinkiang's socialist construction has developed rapidly since liberation.

With practically no modern industry in pre-liberation days, Sinkiang now has modern industrial and mining enterprises on a considerable scale. Industrial output value in 1974 was more than 20 times that of 1949 (at that time products were mainly handicrafts) or nearly five times that of 1955 when the autonomous region was founded. Annual output of crude oil now is several times that of the whole country on the eve of liberation. With the growth of industry, the working-class ranks of the various nationalities have been steadily expanding and maturing. In farm production, the backward state of tilling the land with wooden plows before liberation has been fundamentally changed and Sinkiang is making big strides toward agricultural mechanization. Compared with pre-liberation days, both cultivated and irrigated acreages have increased more than 2.5-fold, and machine-plowed land accounts for 57.8 percent of the total area under cultivation. This year's grain output is estimated to be nearly four times that on the eve of liberation, while the total number of livestock is more than double. Along with the development of production, living standards of the people of various nationalities have improved remarkably.

Tremendous progress also has been recorded in the autonomous region's culture, education, science, public health, physical culture, journalism and publishing. Large numbers of workers, peasants and soldiers with practical experience have enrolled in the colleges and the number of college students today is more than 2.5 times that of 1955 when the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region was founded. The number of students in secondary technical schools and middle schools has increased by nearly 13 times, and 90 percent of school-age children are studying in primary schools. In the medical and health field, hospitals and beds have gone up more than 7-fold compared with 1955. The stress in medical and health work is on the agricultural and pastoral areas. Of the autonomous region's medical personnel and beds, 66 and 72 percent respectively are in these areas. Over 80 percent of the agricultural and pastoral production brigades have adopted the cooperative medical service and more than 10,000 barefoot doctors serve on the farms and in the pastoral areas. Gone for ever are the days in the old society when there were neither doctors nor medicine in the rural areas. The publication of books in the languages of national minorities has increased tremendously since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution. From 1966 to 1974, about 64.1 million books and primary and middle school textbooks in the Uighur, Kazakh and Mongolian languages were distributed, and their annual average was 2.2 times that before the great cultural revolution. In the same period more than 28 million copies of works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao's works in these three languages were distributed and their yearly average increased 11.3-fold compared with that before the great cultural revolution.

The rapid development of economic construction and other socialist undertakings in Sinkiang vividly shows that as long as the people of various nationalities are masters of their own destiny and there is a correct line, every kind of miracle can be performed.

In socialist construction it is necessary to firmly implement the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism and the principles of

building our country independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance, hard struggle, diligence and thrift and of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor. It is also necessary to deepen the mass movements--in industry, learn from Tach'ing and in agriculture, learn from Tachai. To do this, it is essential to handle well the relationship between politics and economics and between revolution and production and insure that economic construction will advance along the socialist road. In addition, to attain the above-mentioned goals, a very important question is doing a good job in solving the question of whether or not we want and can practice self-reliance. Those who look down upon national minorities often stressed that Sinkiang was backward and had special conditions, and they held that economic construction could not be carried out through self-reliance. The development of socialist construction in the last two decades or so in Sinkiang has been attained through continuous struggle against such erroneous ideas. Our emphasis on self-reliance does not mean that we do not want any aid. In the northwestern frontier area of our motherland, Sinkiang had been oppressed for a long time by reactionary ruling classes and imperialism and, therefore, its economic development was more backward than in the interior provinces and municipalities. During socialist construction over the more than two decades since liberation, the state and fraternal provinces and municipalities have continuously given it a great deal of aid in manpower, materials and finance. This aid made up an important condition for Sinkiang's large-scale economic construction in the past and will still be necessary in the future, particularly aid in manpower. Economic construction, however, must be done on the basis of self-reliance. Only when the self-reliant spirit of the people of Sinkiang's various nationalities is carried forward to the full can state assistance play its role; the ideas of the lazy and timid should never be cherished simply becuase there is state aid. To practice self-reliance or not is actually a question of whether or not to bring into full play the initiative of the people of various nationalities for socialist construction as well as a question of whether or not to realize the modernization of industry and agriculture, gradually raise the level of Sinkiang's economic self-sufficiency and make more contributions to the state. The idea of simply relying on state assistance without seeing the strength of the masses of the people is extremely erroneous and must therefore be resolutely opposed.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities--these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") It is very important in multi-national Sinkiang to do a good job in national unity. Led by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and relying on the unity of the various nationalities, we have defeated the subversive, sabotage and aggressive activities of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, overcome the criminal activities of national splittists and a handful of national minority reactionaries to divide the motherland,and smashed the plots to restore capitalism by the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and their agents. Historical experience proves that without the unity of Sinkiang's various nationalities, there would not have been the victory of socialist revolution, the vigorous development of socialist construction and the common progress and prosperity of various nationalities.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the ideological basis of the unity of the various nationalities. What we mean by national unity is genuine mutual respect among the people of various nationalities, learning from each other, and mutual love and assistance. With the establishment of profound proletarian feelings among them, they march forward hand in hand and fight shoulder to shoulder in the cause of socialist revolution and construction and in the struggle against subversion and aggression by Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. Such national unity can only be established on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies. To do a good job in forging national unity, Party organizations at all levels in Sinkiang have over the years paid great attention to studying the theories of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought concerning the national question, continuously carried out education in the proletarian outlook toward nationalities and in national policy and national unity, enhanced national unity and promoted the political, economic and cultural development of all nationalities along the socialist road.

To insure national unity, it is necessary to firmly carry out the series of Party's policies concerning the national question. The founding of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region and its autonomous prefectures and counties marks the successful implementation of the Party's policy of regional national autonomy. It has been proved in practice that putting into effect regional national autonomy embodies the right of the various national minorities to be masters and is conducive to mobilizing their initiative in revolution and construction, giving full play to their potential in political, economic and cultural development and strengthening the unity of the people of all nationalities on the basis of Mao Tsetung Thought. Chairman Mao has taught us: "Without a large number of communist cadres of minority nationalities, it would be impossible to solve the national problem thoroughly and to isolate the minority nationality reactionaries completely." Since its founding the autonomous region has made great efforts in Party building; the number of national minority Party members has increased and minority communist cadres have been trained. Large numbers of young and women cadres have been trained and promoted from among minority nationalities especially since the great cultural revolution began. Compared with the time of the founding of the autonomous region, the number of minority nationality Party members has risen 6.8-fold and minority cadres 2.05-fold. Huge numbers of fine minority cadres are members of the core of leadership of the Party organizations, revolutionary committees and economic and cultural departments at all levels in Sinkiang. Sixty-five percent of Party committee members at all levels are national minorities. Both minority nationality and Han nationality Party members and cadres are closely united and are fighting shoulder to shoulder. Through the test of internal and external class struggles and successive political movements, it has been proved that the ranks of cadres of various fraternal nationalities in Sinkiang are able to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies and unite the people of various nationalities to advance triumphantly. The Party's other nationality policies have also been conscientiously carried out.

The unity of the Party is the core of national unity. The key to strengthening the Party's unity lies in strengthening the revolutionization of the leading groups at all levels. It is necessary to build these leading groups into militant bastions which firmly implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, are united, persevere in the struggle of combating revisionism, have vigor and keep in close contact with the masses. It is also necessary to promote the unity of the Party and of the people of various nationalities through the unity of these leading groups.

The unity of Sinkiang's people over the last 20 years and more has been attained through struggles against all kinds of bourgeois national chauvinism harmful to unity. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "It is imperative to foster good relations between the Han people and the minority nationalities. The key to this question lies in overcoming Han chauvinism. At the same time, efforts should also be made to overcome local nationalism, wherever it exists among the minority nationalities. Both Han chauvinism and local nationalism are harmful to the unity of the nationalities; they represent a specific contradiction among the people which should be overcome". ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") Both Han chauvinism and local-nationality chauvinism are reflections of class struggle and the two-line struggle; they are bourgeois ideas and are diametrically opposed to the proletarian outlook toward nationalities. Following Chairman Mao's directives, we unfolded a struggle against Han chauvinism in 1952 and a struggle against local nationality chauvinism in 1957. In the great cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we criticized the crimes of Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and their gangs in sabotaging national unity and carried out education on combating Soviet modern revisionism, and once again educated everyone in nationality policy. Each struggle has profoundly educated the people of various nationalities in the proletarian outlook toward nationalities and in the Party's nationality policy, and has further promoted their revolutionary unity. During the struggle, attention has been paid to distinguishing between two different types of contradictions. We separate people with ideas of local nationalism from national splittists. The problems of the former are principally ideological, while the latter sabotage national unity and split our motherland and are agents of Soviet revisionism. Thus, we are able not only to deal mighty blows to the obstinate enemies but also to unite with all those who can be united with and win over all those who can be won over.

Sinkiang is our motherland's outpost for combating revisionism. Taking over the mantle of the old tsars, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has incessantly carried out subversive and aggressive activities against Sinkiang and tried in vain to turn it into its colony. The handful of national splittists in the autonomous region are the henchmen and internal collaborators of the Soviet revisionists. Therefore, in order to safeguard the unification of our motherland and enhance national unity, it is necessary to persist in the struggle against Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and at the same time carry out the struggle against national splittists. We must firmly grasp the general orientation of the struggle against the enemy and penetratingly conduct education on combating and preventing revisionism. We must heighten our vigilance, further strengthen our unity and be ready at all times to smash the criminal plots of subversion and

aggression by the Soviet revisionists. The people of various nationalities in Sinkiang waged firm struggles in the past to safeguard our motherland's unification and will in the future certainly carry this struggle through to the end. The plots of the Soviet revisionists and a handful of national splittists to carry out subversion and create division will never succeed.

We are full of pride and enthusiasm in reviewing the past and filled with boundness confidence in looking forward to the future. While celebrating the festive day the people of various nationalities clearly know their glorious historical duties. They are determined to unite still more closely around the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, further implement Chairman Mao's series of important directives on the study of theory and combating and preventing revisionism, uphold the Party's basic line, strengthen national unity, deepen the revolution in the superstructure, accelerate socialist construction, further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, do a good job in preparedness against war and turn Sinkiang into a bulwark of steel for combating and preventing revisionism on our motherland's northwestern frontier. No matter how many obstacles lie on the road forward, the people of various nationalities in Sinkiang will redouble their efforts, continue their march and give play to stauncher and more vigorous revolutionary spirit to seize still greater victories.

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A Promising New Thing

- Investigation report on the development of commune- and brigade-run industry in Wuhsi county, Kiangsu

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 10, Oct. 1, 1975)

In recent years, while vigorously developing agriculture, Wuhsi county, Kiangsu, has actively developed commune- and brigade-run industry in accordance with Chairman Mao's policy on the need to build large, medium and small enterprises simultaneously in the course of developing industry. Fairly good results have been achieved.

Is it necessary for the people's communes and production brigades to establish industry? How can communes and production brigades run industry well? Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, due to interference and sabotage by Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, this county had long been beset by conflicting opinions. Some comrades maintained that the task of rural communes and production brigades was to carry out agricultural production, and industry should be left to the state and cities. Although other comrades took note of the various problems that appeared in the development of industry by communes and brigades, they did not take a positive attitude to help solve them; instead they took a negative attitude and dared not support it. As a result, no progress was made in developing industry run by the county and its communes and brigades. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, efforts were made by the poor and lower-middle peasants in the county to deepen the movement to "learn from Tachai in agriculture," to actively improve their farming system, and to expand areas where "three crops a year can be grown." In doing so, they urgently requested more farm machines, chemical fertilizer and insecticides from industrial departments.

The county Party committee realized that the needs for the development of agriculture could not be fully met simply by waiting for and relying on the support of big industries in cities and that active efforts had to be made to develop industry by the county and its communes and brigades on the basis of their own conditions. They realized through practice that to a county, it is very important to thoroughly implement the principle of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor and correctly handle the relationship between agriculture and industry run by communes and brigades. Agriculture is the foundation of the national economy, but support from the industrial sector is necessary to develop agriculture on a long-term basis and at a relatively fast pace. When agriculture is developed to a certain degree, any failure to actively develop industry run by the county, communes and brigades would impede the further development of agriculture. Only by making concerted efforts to develop both agriculture and industry can we constantly boost the economy in an all-round way. This is an objective demand for developing the socialist economy.

In view of this, they began to actively develop industry run by the county and its communes and brigades in the spirit of self-reliance, under the guidance of state plans, and in accordance with

Chairman Mao's instructions on developing large-scale, medium and small enterprises simultaneously and on the need for collectives to run small factories in the rural areas where conditions permit. In 1974 some 1,638 factories sprang up throughout the county. Of these, 229 were run by communes, and 1,274 by brigades. Every commune and brigade had its own small factories. The total industrial output value exceeded 269 million yuan, half of which was accounted for by industry run by communes and brigades. With the support of industry, agricultural production also advanced rapidly. 1974's grain output was highest in local history, averaging 1,467 catties per-mow.

Practice proves that the industry run by communes and brigades is a socialist new thing holding great promise and capable of playing a great role in developing agriculture, building a new socialist countryside, and remolding the habitual force of small production.

The development of industry by communes and brigades has expanded the socialist collective economy and raised the level of public ownership under the system of collective ownership, fully demonstrating the superiority of the people's communes characterized by largeness in size and a high degree of public ownership. Previously most of the communes in this county engaged in a single-crop agricultural economy, and their production level was relatively low. The proportion of the economies at the commune and brigade levels was very small. But following the development of industry run by communes and brigades, fixed assets owned by communes and brigades now account for 55 percent of the total fixed assets at the three levels of ownership. This higher degree of public ownership marks a step forward in the development of the socialist system of ownership, and is of far-reaching significance in consolidating the collective economy of the people's communes and restricting bourgeois rights. The industry run by communes and brigades uses the funds it accumulates to support poor brigades in farmland capital construction, thus reducing the gap between rich and poor brigades. It has provided technical transformation of agriculture with large amounts of equipment and funds, and trained a great number of technicians It has accelerated the progress of agricultural mechanization, making it possible to gradually realize the policy of placing the main emphasis on localities in the manufacturing of farm machinery, on the production of small and medium-sized farm machines, and on the collective in purchasing farm machines. For example, in 1974 more than 7 million yuan were accumulated by commune- and brigade-run industry in six communes including Meitsun. Of this, more than 3 million yuan were used to equip agriculture, support poor brigades, purchase additional farm machines and machine tools for various brigades and teams, repair and build underground channels and pig pens, and to meet the needs for developing agricultural scientific experiments. Some formerly poor brigades now have their own lathes, walking tractors and pig pens, gradually gaining in economic strength. At present, the county boasts 210,000 horsepower of farm machinery, averaging one horsepower for every 4 mow of land. It has more than 2,900 tractors. The machine-plowed land makes up more than 90 percent of the total acreage under cultivation. Electricity is now made available to 98 percent of the brigades, and farm mechanization and semi-mechanization have been achieved in the main.

The development of industry run by communes and brigades is conducive to educating and transforming peasants with socialist ideas. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, strengthening the industry's support for agriculture is actually an effort by the proletariat to apply advanced socialist ideas and strong socialist economic forces to guide peasants to beat capitalism and persevere in taking the socialist road. When the commune members see the economy of their communes and brigades prosper gradually and the advantages of the collective and socialism, they will come to love socialism even more passionately. The development of industry run by communes and brigades and the initial popularization of science and technology have further raised the capacity to resist natural calamities, and this in itself is a powerful rebuff to the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius such as the "theory of Heavenly mandate" and "the highest is wise and the lowest is stupid," thereby helping the peasants more resolutely break with old traditional concepts while supporting the revolutions in education, in literature and art and in public health in the countryside. All of this facilitates the domination of rural positions by socialist ideas.

The development of industry run by communes and brigades has also accelerated the development of industry as a whole. To implement the policy of building large, medium and small enterprises simultaneously, it is necessary to actively develop industry run by communes and brigades in a manner suitable to local conditions. A special feature in having communes and brigades run industry is that such industry can be built quickly on a small scale and with a small investment. It can be developed with whatever is available by indigenous methods. Local manpower and material and other resources can be used more efficiently and rationally. Wuhsi county's experience shows that actively developing commune- and brigade-run industry simultaneously with running county-run industry well has considerably accelerated the rate of industrial development. After only a few years' time, this county is now capable of producing annually 10,000 tons each of steel and steel products, more than 7,000 tons of synthetic ammonia, over 9,000 diesel engines, over 3,000 walking tractors, 220,000 kilowatts of motors, more than 20,000 tons of cement, and nearly 2,000 tons of polyvinyl chloride resin.

The key to success in developing commune- and brigade-run industry lies in adhering to the socialist road and in upholding the principle of serving agriculture. The struggle between two classes, two roads and two lines, which exists throughout the socialist society, also exists in industry run by communes and brigades. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Even now China practices an eight-grade wage system, distribution according to work, and exchange through money, and in this differs little from the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has been changed." Industry run by communes and brigades is owned by collectives. Since not all of its production, supply and marketing is incorporated into the state plans, the law of value exerts a greater influence here. For this reason, the struggle between the two roads and two lines always exists with regard to what type of factory should be built, what kinds of products should be manufactured, and what prices should be set in selling them in the course of developing commune- and brigade-run industry. This struggle in particular finds expression in the question of whether to persistently put proletarian politics in command and run enterprises in the light of Chairman Mao's

revolutionary line or to follow the revisionist line and put profit in command, and whether to give priority to the task of supporting agriculture or go all out in making profits. With these questions in mind, the Party committee of Wuhsi county has frequently conducted education on the Party's basic line among cadres and the masses in the course of developing commune- and brigade-run industry. Serious efforts have been made to organize them to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, to deepen the criticism of the revisionist line, capitalist tendencies and the idea of bourgeois rights, and to continuously adjust the orientation and line in running enterprises. At the same time, repeated publicity has been given to the policy of taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor so as to enable the masses to correctly understand the relationship between industry and agriculture and that agricultural mechanization on the basis of agricultural collectivization is a major measure by our Party for upholding socialism and defeating capitalism in the struggle between the two roads in the countryside. Moreover, concrete steps have been taken to insure that commune- and brigade-run industry is geared to the central task of supporting and serving agriculture. For instance, in working out the order of priorities in building factories, support-agriculture factories are given preference, and to this end, efforts are concentrated first on running well those factories which have a decisive significance in aiding agriculture. When it comes to the arrangement of products, priority is given to support-agriculture products, and in production arrangement, priority is given to repair and assembly of farm machines.

To strengthen leadership over commune- and brigade-run industry and to incorporate, gradually and in varying degrees, production, supply and marketing into state plans is an important aspect of making commune- and brigade-run industry adhere to the socialist orientation. With this in mind, Wuhsi county has established administrative organs at county and commune levels to look after commune- and brigade-run industry, with production, supply and marketing plans for commune- and brigade-run industry centrally arranged by the county. Thus, some products are gradually drawn into the county or provincial or prefectural plans. For some products processing agreements are made with large factories. Some products are centrally purchased by commercial departments. At present, approximately 80 percent of the production, supply and marketing of the commune- and brigade-run industry in this county have, in different forms, been drawn into state or local plans. In addition, necessary adjustments have been made for some products without an assured supply of raw materials or stability in sales. Meanwhile, full scope has been given to the supervisory role of finance departments and banks in restricting bourgeois rights in the fields of production and exchange and in boycotting capitalist tendencies so as to insure that the commune- and brigade-run industry will develop along the socialist road.

While mainly serving agriculture with its products, commune- and brigade-run industry should also accumulate funds mainly for serving the development of agricultural production and the realization of farm mechanization. The Party committee of Wuhsi county has come to realize through practice that commune- and brigade-run industry should use its reserves not only for its own extended re-production but particularly for developing agricultural production and farm mechanization. If the commune- and brigade-run industry does not use its reserves to serve agriculture, it will depart from the socialist orientation and indulge in aimless development.

Having summed up the lessons and experiences of various communes and brigades in using the reserves of commune- and brigade-run industry, the county Party committee rules: approximately 60 percent of funds accumulated by commune- and brigade-run industry should be used to purchase farm machinery, carry out farmland water conservation capital construction, develop agricultural and sideline production, and assist poor brigades in changing their outlook; about 30 percent should be used for extended re-production of commune- and brigade-run industry, and about 10 percent for cultural, educational and health services. Communes and brigades are strictly prohibited from using industrial reserve funds to build auditoria and office buildings. This has further clarified the orientation for commune- and brigade-run industry to serve agriculture, and the socialist road has become ever wider.

Wuhsi county's commune- and brigade-run industry enforces a consolidated labor system for those who work on the bench and on the farms and the method of calculating pay on the basis of evaluation of work and allotment of points. This is a new-born thing created by the masses in the course of practice. Workers of commune- and brigade-run industry in this county work on the farms during busy farming seasons and on the bench during slack farming seasons. Each year they return to their production teams to take part in agricultural labor for 3-4 months. This not only guarantees adequate manpower at the frontline of agriculture but also facilitates industrial development. It is ruled that industrial-agricultural personnel, including cadres of enterprises run by communes and brigades, should have their work assessed and points alloted on the same basis as commune members, turn over their income to their production teams and participate in unified distribution by the teams. Although necessary subsidy is given to those with better skills, the amount of such subsidy should not be too high. With regard to labor insurance and welfare, apart from the needed labor protection, they are to be treated in the same way as commune members, and it is impermissible to practice two kinds of systems and offer two kinds of treatment. This has not only insured stability of manpower in the countryside but also aroused the enthusiasm of those taking part in industrial-agricultural production and made the broad masses of commune members concerned about industrial production and those working in factories concerned about agricultural production and the affairs of their teams. It has thus promoted an all-round development of industrial and agricultural production.

To make commune- and brigade-run industry adhere to the socialist orientation, the key lies in strengthening Party leadership. The Wuhsi county Party committee has established Party branches in commune-run enterprises and Party groups in brigade-run enterprises and has given full play to the role of Party organizations as combat fortresses. This has exerted tremendous effect in assuring continuous expansion of commune- and brigade-run industry in the socialist direction.

The vast numbers of staff members and workers of Wuhsi county's commune- and brigade-run industry are now conscientiously studying Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory, summing up their experience, and advancing from victory to victory.

Investigation Team of Kiangsu Provincial
Revolutionary Committee

* * *

Build a Theoretical Contingent, Promote Mass Study

by

Party Committee of Tientsin Municipal Dyestuff Plant

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 10, Oct. 1, 1975)

The workers theoretical contingent in our plant, established in the course of the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, has grown and expanded during the movement to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship. Its present membership already accounts for 13.6 percent of the total number of workers. Under the direct leadership of the Party committee and Party branches, they are seriously studying Marxist theory, striving to transform their world outlook and, at the same time, actively leading and helping the worker masses to study. This has pushed the study movement to gradually deepen in our plant. Now all the workers here are studying theory, grasping the line, discussing unity and increasing production, thereby further developing the excellent situation in revolution and production.

After the establishment of the workers theoretical contingent, we have at all times made a point of grasping its ideological leadership, helping them overcome various ideological obstacles and guiding them to study and temper and improve themselves in struggle. At first, some comrades, thinking that their cultural level was low and theoretical foundation was weak, had a sense of inferiority complex and acted timidly. "You can't make porcelain without a diamond drill," they said. Others adopted an attitude of trying it out. "If we succeed, we'll carry on; if not, disband." To overcome this fear of difficulties, the Party committee repeatedly conducted ideological education and, from the high plane of the need to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, made everyone see the historical mission of the working class and encouraged them to take an active part in the struggle on the theoretical front for the purpose of combating and prevent revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat so as to become a proletarian revolutionary fighter able to write and fight. With their thinking thus heightened, pressure turned into a driving force. With all-out support from the leadership and the masses, the theoretical contingent charged forward bravely and with ever greater vigor.

But there is a contradiction in everything. The struggle between two ideologies and two lines in building up a theoretical contingent is also a protracted one. After it did some work and achieved something, some comrades would become arrogant and complacent and would not accept the opinions of the masses. The Party committee and Party branches realized that the bourgeois ideology was eroding the workers theoretical contingent, and that if it was not checked, it could cause the workers theoretical contingent to go astray. In view of this, we got the theoretical contingent to study Chairman Mao's teachings--"the enemy of study is self-complacency" and "the question 'for whom' is a fundamental question, one of principle." We helped them realize that to be a proletarian theoretical fighter, one must resist corruption and, in the course of participating in productive labor and practical struggle, continue to wash away the political dust of the bourgeoisie and forever maintain the color of the working class. While conducting

ideological education, we also help the theoretical contingent establish and improve its life system, encouraging them to raise their consciousness of transforming their thought, to diligently and honestly study and work for the sake of the revolution and continue to forge ahead in the correct direction without seeking personal fame or gain.

As some workers say: "To strike iron, one must first have a strong body." Only when one first understands the theory of proletarian dictatorship can he help the worker masses to study well. For this reason, we continue to strengthen leadership over the study of the theoretical contingent and call on them to develop the revolutionary spirit of advancing against difficulties, to study assiduously to master some basic theoretical viewpoints and then to improve themselves step by step on their original basis. Meanwhile, the Party committee adopted various measures to enable them to study more and better. Considering the task and content of study in various stages, we frequently hold reading classes for members of the theoretical contingent, sponsor some forums on basic theoretical knowledge, and organize them to read and study seriously. Apart from asking them to study together with the other workers in their groups, we arrange for them to study half a day each week. Moreover, in light of needs and possibilities, we send some of them to reading classes sponsored by higher-level organs. Besides, we stress the need for members of the theoretical contingent to cultivate a good habit of private study during their spare times. Apart from seriously reading the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao, they should also study some history, literature and natural sciences in order to broaden their scope of knowledge and better master Marxism. They should also read some teaching material by negative example, so that they may strengthen their discerning ability and raise their combat level through both positive and negative experience. At present, our theoretical contingent is seriously studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship as well as studying, discussing and criticizing Water Margin, a teaching material by negative example preaching capitulationism.

Concerning the study of the workers theoretical contingent itself, we must not only proceed from the actual conditions but also make exacting demands. We believe that it does not matter if one has a low cultural level or a weak theoretical foundation. It will be all right if one studies from scratch, from the shallow to the deep. However, it is important to have a correct attitude and style of study and adhere to the principle of integrating theory with practice. This is the key to the study and improvement of the theoretical contingent. We stress the need to strive to learn how to apply the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method in observing, analyzing and solving problems, to be good at applying revolutionary theory in analyzing and solving problems of orientation and line in one's own unit, to enhance stability and unity, to develop work in all fields, and to prevent the erroneous tendency to separate theory from practice. Thanks to this, the theoretical contingent has acquired a good style of assiduously reading the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao, "repeatedly studying, repeatedly exploring, and pondering over things from all angles," and the good style of "integrating Marxist-Leninist theory with the actual movement of the Chinese revolution." To understand the question of why there is both harmony and conflict between the relations of production and productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base in socialist society, the theoretical team of No. 2 workshop seriously studied the relavant

chapters of such works as "The State and Revolution" and "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," besides studying some basic knowledge of political economy. After repeated discussions and study, it realized that under conditions of fundamental compatibility, there are still aspects of incompability. If not properly handled, these incompatible aspects may impair the socialist system of public ownership and affect the consolidation of proletarian dictatorship. Therefore, it is necessary to properly grasp the socialist revolution in the superstructure and pay attention to solving the problems in respect to the relations of production. On the basis of a clear fundamental understanding of this question and linking theory with practice, it analyzed the problem of human relationship in the workshop and helped the workshop leadership raise its awareness of the need to rely on the worker masses to run the socialist enterprise well and improve its methods of work. This strengthened the unity between the cadres and the masses and called forth mass enthusiasm. At the same time, under the leadership of the Party branch, they held six training classes attended by the workers on rotation, guiding the workers to increase their awareness as masters of the enterprise. This brought about a new atmosphere in revolution and production in the workshop.

The workers theoretical contingent has strong vitality because it is rooted in the grassroots level and among the masses; it is not divorced from labor, the masses and reality but serves proletarian politics and practical struggle. The workers theoretical contingent should place the emphasis of its work in its own unit, in shifts and groups in order to help the masses to study Marxist-Leninist theory in depth. This requires members of the theoretical contingent to take full advantage of the fact that they are living among the masses and to persist in closely integrating themselves with the masses, acting not only as teachers but also as students. To be a good teacher, one must first be a good student. It is obviously a mistake if one thinks he does not need to try to be a good student because he is already stained with "grease" all over. Although the theoretical contingent comes from the masses, it too has a problem of continuing to integrate with the masses. Although the theoretical contingent consists of workers, its members still have a problem of learning from the worker masses and transforming their own world outlook. With their thinking heightened, members of the theoretical contingent take the lead in conducting propaganda among and organizing the masses, thereby activating the study in shifts and teams. While studying with the masses, they have tempered and improved themselves.

To develop the leading role of the workers theoretical contingent in organizing the masses to study, we have consistently kept to the following three approaches:

One. Adhere to the method "from the masses,to the masses." In this way, the study and research activities of the workers theoretical contingent will not be separated from the masses for a single moment. On the one hand, the theoretical contingent is closely concerned about the conditions of study in workshops, shifts and teams and gives full consideration to the difficulties encountered by the masses in their study. When the "38" work section of No. 3 workshop was studying the theory of

proletarian dictatorship, there was a heated debate on what were bourgeois rights. Some comrades always felt that they could not grasp this very well and were unable to explain it both in theory and practice. While studying the relevant Marxist thesis, members of the theoretical group carried out a deep investigation to find out about the various manifestations of bourgeois rights in its own unit. Then, after a comprehensive analysis, it explained the whole thing to the masses. This gave the masses a relatively deep understanding of bourgeois rights and enabled them to raise their consciousness of the need to get rid of the idea of bourgeois rights and promote the integration of theory and practice. This in turn activated the study in shifts and teams. On the other hand, the theoretical contingent unfolds research into selected topics and takes the results of research to the masses for discussion, revision and improvement. After studying the causes of the Soviet Union turning revisionist, the theoretical group of No. 4 workshop wrote an article and immediately solicited the opinions of the masses on it. In accordance with these opinions, it revised it and handed it back to the masses for discussion. After a repetition of "from the masses, to the masses," the quality of the article was improved greatly. Such mutual promotion between the theoretical contingent and the masses is conducive to deepening the study unceasingly.

Two. Persist in linking theory and practice, make penetrating investigations and study, and strive to apply theory to practice. In order to understand the relationship between bourgeois rights in distribution and the revisionist line on enterprise management, the theoretical group of No. 4 workshop joined the worker masses in investigating the harm of "material incentives" vigorously promoted by the revisionist line. Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, the plant started something like a "work-point race," awarding points for everything done. This caused disunity among the workers, lowered their morale, and affected production. Some old workers said angrily: "Everything is assessed and work points are awarded on that basis. But as more of this is done, greater harm is caused." In view of these facts, the theoretical group, using the Marxist theory as the guide, found that if bourgeois rights were not restricted in distribution, they would be disruptive to the socialist system of ownership and the comradely relations between men. This deeply educated both the leadership and the workers. A clearer line of distinction was drawn between Marxism and revisionism, between socialism and capitalism. Socialist enthusiasm was aroused, and this brought about rapid progress in production.

Three. Persist in serving the study of shifts and teams and serving the study of the masses. The theoretical groups constantly analyze the results of study in workshops, shifts and teams and help them improve their study with ideas and methods. Moreover, in light of the progress and needs of study in shifts and teams, sensible guidance is provided to them, either collectively or individually, using plain language and vivid examples. Basic theoretical problems are explained more thoroughly. The masses say: "Such guidance is to the point as it is related to reality and easy to understand. We welcome it." On top of this, the theoretical contingent also helps the masses sum up study experience, collect their thoughts on study, and organize exchange and popularization of experience. This has greatly impelled the study of the broad masses. These methods have helped the theoretical contingent play the leading role in the study of the masses, enabling them to study realistically and in a lively manner. Praising the workers

theoretical contingent, the worker comrades say: "They are the backbone in the study of the masses. They are good assistants and advisers to the basic-level leadership."

The workers theoretical contingent is a new-born thing in our great socialist motherland. Although it does not have a long history, it has demonstrated its vital role. Henceforth, it will surely assume more arduous tasks in the struggle on the theoretical front. Reviewing what it has done tentatively has raised our understanding of the nature and function of the workers theoretical contingent. We are determined to give greater care to this socialist new-born thing and build it into a new-type Marxist theoretical contingent. Strengthening Party leadership is the key to building up such a theoretical contingent well. We must not allow it to run its own natural course. We must grasp it firmly. We must take the building of a theoretical contingent as a strategic task for combating and preventing revisionism and exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, and grasp it constantly and well.

* * *

Bring the Positive Role of Technicians into Play

- Investigation report on Hutung Shipyard, Shanghai

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 10, Oct. 1, 1975)

In 1968, when the mass movement of the great proletarian cultural revolution was developing in depth, Chairman Mao promptly raised a number of policy questions for us, including the question of encouraging technicians to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants and bringing their positive role into play. He pointed out: "I would like to raise a question here. That is, it is necessary to give attention to reeducating the large number of college and secondary school graduates who started work quite some time ago as well as those who have just begun to work, so that they will integrate with the workers and peasants. Some of them are sure to make a success of this integration and achieve something in regard to inventions and innovations. Mention should be made of these people as an encouragement." This policy of Chairman Mao's has encouraged large numbers of technicians to make progress. It has achieved remarkable results. The change which has taken place in the ranks of technicians in Hutung Shipyard may serve as an illustration of this point.

Hutung Shipyard now has 775 technicians, most of whom are college or secondary technical school graduates. Technicians promoted from among the workers account for more than 20 percent of the total. Tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution, the overwhelming majority of these technicians have markedly changed their mentality. They have now become an important force in three great revolutionary movements.

Judging from the situation in this shipyard, the overwhelming majority of the technicians are willing to be reeducated by the working class and integrate themselves with the workers. The technicians are delving deep into technology for the revolution and are anxious to contribute to changing the look of the shipbuilding industry as fast as possible. After analyzing the state of these technicians, the shipyard Party committee has made proper arrangements for them according to the practical needs in the development of production as well as their political and ideological showing and technical specialities. 89 percent of the technicians work in the technical departments of the shipyard headquarters and its workshops, while the rest of them work in shifts and teams and assist workers in technical innovations. Most of the technicians who previously were assigned to the lower level to do labor have been well placed. In arranging jobs for technicians, they /the shipyard Party committee/ have given attention not only to preventing technicians from being used as unskilled laborers and to developing the specialities of technicians of various types but also to stepping up education among them while using them so as to improve them in work.

The use and transformation of technicians are compatible with each other. We can bring their role into full play and have them remold their world outlook further only if we step up their ideological education while using them and continue to encourage them to integrate with the workers. Chairman Mao has said: "The remolding of intellectuals, especially the remolding of their world outlook, takes a long time." The question of world outlook of technicians invariably finds concentrated expression in

their attitude toward technical knowledge. In carrying out technical work, some technicians are apt to give expression in various forms to bourgeois individualist ideas and the influence of the revisionist line on them. As a result, their thinking has become onesided. In view of this, the shipyard Party organization, by carrying out meticulous and thoroughgoing ideological work, helped the technicians to correctly handle the relationship between politics and technology and persistently follow the road of "being both Red and expert." At the same time, it actively encouraged them to take up heavy loads and promptly commended those who achieved definite results. As for those technicians who "have made a success of integrating with the workers and achieved something in regard to inventions and innovations," they are given publicity and rewards. This is very important. It is an important method of arousing technician's enthusiasm for socialism as well as an important aspect of implementing the Party's policies. When a technician makes a mistake in work, if it is not caused by a serious dereliction of duty, the leadership on its own initiative takes the responsibility and educates the cadres and workers to support him in doing his work well. Once, the shipyard leadership entrusted a former assistant chief engineer with the responsibility of designing the shipyard's first mobile crane with a 100-ton lifting capability. It was a major piece of equipment for the building of 10,000-ton ships. At the beginning, some people criticized this assignment as taking the old road of "letting specialists run factories," and this engineer too was filled with misgivings. Later, the Party committee promptly organized the cadres and masses to study Chairman Mao's relevant teachings, making them realize that bringing the role of technicians into full play under Party leadership and encouraging them to integrate with the workers is conducive to consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and accelerating the pace of socialist construction, and that this assignment was basically different from "letting experts run factories." At the same time, the shipyard leadership encouraged this engineer to modestly learn from the masses, consult them on matters of common interest, boldly take up the responsibility and work vigorously. He was told: As long as we made the maximum subjective effort, even if the crane turned out to have the capability of lifting only 60 or 80 tons, that would still be a very great victory. With such encouragement and support, integrating with the workers like other technicians, boldly taking up his responsibility, and working in high spirits, this engineer fulfilled his assignment in triumph.

With regard to worker-technicians who took up technical posts during the great cultural revolution, including a group of worker-peasant-soldier students who just graduated from schools, the shipyard Party organization also insists on training them and improving their skills in the course of production. Relatively more conscious of the struggle between the two lines, these worker-technicians dare to think, speak and do, but they do not have enough theoretical knowledge and technical work experience. This makes some feel that, since these worker-technicians are lacking in theoretical knowledge, they should devote themselves to study and improve themselves behind closed doors. Recalling the bitter lessons of practicing the revisionist line in this shipyard before the great cultural revolution, the Party organization realized that they must not go back to the old road, and that which line is followed in training worker-technicians is an important question bearing on the

occupation and transformation of the technical front by the working class. They not only emphasized the need for worker-technicians to constantly raise their consciousness through practice, but also gave attention to sensibly allowing them to undertake designing work independently so as to have more opportunities for training. At the same time, worker-technicians and the old technicians were organized to help and learn from each other to make up for each other's deficiencies. Various other conditions, such as the establishment of "21 July" university and technical training classes, were provided for worker-technicians to study technical theory. Today, a number of worker-technicians have become backbone technicians, half of them in leading technical positions at various levels.

In order to integrate themselves with the workers, technicians must persist in participating in productive labor. This is an important approach for them to remold their world outlook and combine theory with practice. On this point, the shipyard has both positive and negative experience. Before the great cultural revolution, due to the influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, many technicians remained divorced for a long time from labor, the masses and practice as they engrossed themselves in drawing and reading reference materials in technical departments. Consequently, many of them did not properly remolded their world outlook, nor could they make use of their technical theoretical knowledge in the practice of production. During the great cultural revolution, they criticized the revisionist line and enthusiastically responded to Chairman Mao's call to "send down scientific and technical personnel to the field." Doing labor alongside the workers on the shipbuilding platform and in workshops, they strove to work as hard as they could, and were no longer divorced from the masses and practice as in the past. Their sentiments and thoughts changed greatly. For instance, a young technician working in the welding laboratory kept himself entangled with figures and experiments behind closed doors from the time he joined the shipyard, without knowing how welding was done in production. After working for several years in this way, he hardly produced any result. His situation took a drastic turn during the great cultural revolution when he shed his blue-cloth gown and picked up a welding gun and went to work in a workshop with other technicians. At the time the electrical welding workers employed the old technology of argon arc welding to weld the exhaust valve in a diesel engine. Since the processed parts had to be heated by two large electric ovens, the working condition was far from desirable as the workers had to work continuously for 50 to 60 minutes in high temperature. When the workers saw the technicians who came to work, they said with joy: "Can you work with us to get rid of the high temperature?" This question raised by the workers was precisely one of the problems which the welding laboratory had to study and solve. This young technician and other technicians worked and researched with the workers and finally succeeded in trial producing an equivalent ion electric welder, to the delight of the worker masses. Chairman Mao says: "The intellectuals will accomplish nothing if they fail to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants." It is precisely by participating in productive labor that many technicians have gradually understood this teaching by Chairman Mao's, found the vast world in which they can bring their technical theoretical knowledge into play, and strengthened their consciousness of taking the road of integrating with the worker masses.

The rapid development of the shipbuilding industry in recent years calls for a still greater number of technicians to carry out design, research and trial manufacture of related products. After technicians return to their technical posts, should they continue to take part in labor? This question is debatable. At first, some technicians had reservations, thinking that, in terms of the time spent, it was not worthwhile to take part in labor. Others thought that after "graduating" from a period of labor, they might now turn their full attention to professional work. After summing up experience, the shipyard Party committee again and again helped everyone to see that scientific and technical knowledge does not drop from the skies nor is it inherent in the minds of technicians, but can only come from the practice of the working people, including the technicians.Technicians must persist in participating in labor before they can see clearly, through production practice, the orientation of their efforts and their tasks, and constantly raise their technical theoretical level. Up to now, the shipyard's technicians have adhered to the system of participation in productive labor for five years, and created many effective forms for it. With the exception of the old, the weak, the sick and the crippled, all technicians in the shipyard generally spend over two months taking part in labor each year. Over 40 percent of the technicians have mastered one or two operating techniques. Their participation in labor has not affected their professional work; on the contrary, the volume of technical work actually completed has grown many times compared with the past. Take the shipbuilding technical group for example. Its staff has remained constant from the days before the great cultural revolution, but the number of designing tasks it has actually completed has risen 8-9 fold.

Persistent participation by the technicians in labor has improved their relations with the workers and created very favorable conditions for them to develop their special technical abilities in connection with practice. Some comrades were worried less participation in labor by technicians would affect their technical research and hamper their technical work. Hutung Shipyard's experience shows that having technicians persistently participate in labor and frequently go to the field to integrate with the worker masses is conducive to the constant improvement and development of technical work. The theoretical knowledge possessed by technicians is derived from summing up the experience obtained by the working people through long periods of practice. Production techniques are constantly developing, technical theory cannot remain unchanged. Given the rapid development of production techniques, failure to persistently take part in labor would separate one from reality and make him fall behind the development of the situation. In the past 2 years Hutung Shipyard trial-produced a new diesel engine of greater horsepower potential. During a trial run, it was discovered that the surface of the crankshaft was dotted with tiny spots. At first the technicians tried to solve the problem by consulting foreign data behind closed doors, but to no avail. Later, they extensively canvassed the workers for ideas by participating in labor themselves. The workers proceeded from their practical experience to get to the cause of the problem in various ways. They proposed a plan for improvement. When this practical experience of the workers in production was integrated with the technical theoretical knowledge of the

technicians, changes in the manufacture of the equipment and in technology were finally made, and this key technical problem was solved. In the process of integrating theory with practice, both the workers and the technicians were able to raise their technical level together.

The sphere of technology used to be the inherited territory of bourgeois intellectuals in the past, and it was deeply influence by bourgeois ideology. This situation has been considerably changed since the great proletarian cultural revolution as a result of the deepened criticism of the revisionist line and the increase in the number of technicians through bringing outstanding workers into their ranks. However, the struggle between the two lines and two ideologies in the sphere of technology remains sharp. In order to take the road of developing our country's shipbuilding industry by relying on our own efforts, the shipyard's Party organization has constantly organized the technicians to study Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's works. In addition, they also constantly criticize the revisionist line in the light of the actual situation in the shipyard, and draw distinctions between the Marxist and revisionist lines. While doing so, they strictly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions and correctly grasp the policy limits. They pay attention to the following tasks:

1. It is necessary to direct the spearhead of criticism at the chieftains of the revisionist line such as Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, and to inspire and guide the technicians to raise their awareness in implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in close connection with their current thinking.

2. It is essential to organize workers and technicians to carry out criticism together and further strengthen their unity.

3. Efforts must be made to draw a demarcation line between correct and erroneous ideas and guard against one tendency covering up another. It is necessary not only to criticize the idea of worshiping anything foreign but also make foreign things serve China, proceed from the practical situation in socialist construction in our country in studying the advanced technology of foreign countries. It is essential not only to criticize the idea of seeking personal fame and gain and of attaching importance to the study of technology while ignoring the study of politics, but also to encourage the technicians to study technology for the sake of the revolution and follow the path of "Red and expert."

By firmly grasping the struggle between the two ideologies and the two lines in the superstructure and incessantly strengthening political and ideological work, this shipyard has helped the broad masses of technicians raise their awareness incessantly, whip up their enthusiasm for socialism, and make their own contributions to developing the shipbuilding industry.

The Hutung Shipyard Party organization has done a great deal of work in bringing up and training technicians. However, it still has much to do before achieving the strategic goal of building a mighty contingent of technicians from the working class. Recently, the Party organization, through studying theory, further summed up experience. It is determined to carry forward its achievements, correct its shortcomings, act upon the spirit of the instruction issued by Chairman Mao in 1968, and carry out its work with still better results under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Investigation Team of Shanghai Municipal
First Machine-Building and Power Industry
Bureau

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Comment on Sung Chiang the Capitulationist

by

An Ch'ün (安群)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 10, Oct. 1, 1975)

Sung Chiang is the principal character on whom the author of Water Margin lavishes praise. Should Sung be praised like that? Is Sung a revolutionary or a capitulationist after all? There were conflicting evaluations in the past. Chairman Mao recently pointed out: "Sung Chiang pushes capitulationism, practices revisionism, changes Ch'ao's Chü-i T'ing to Chung-i T'ang, and accepts the offer of amnesty and enlistment." We must, in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching, define the distinctions between revolutionaries and capitulationists in terms of the line, expose Sung's true features in practicing revisionism and capitulationism politically, organizationally and ideologically, and answer a number of questions brought up by people.

(I)

Water Margin is set against the background of the last years the Northern Sung Dynasty, during which the Sung court became increasingly corrupt and the contradictions between the peasantry and the landlord class were extremely sharp. In the course of these contradictions and struggles, a struggle between the two lines took place within the Liangshan Mountain peasant insurgent army around the question of whether to rise in rebellion or to capitulate. Beginning from his opposition to Ch'ao Kai's uprising and advocacy of capitulationism to his acceptance of the offer of amnesty and enlistment and setting out to fight Fang La and finally to his poisoning Li K'uei to death, Sung pushed throughout a revisionist and capitulationist line and was a capitulationist stubbornly clinging to his slavish stand.

Based on the incident in which Sung set Ch'ao Kai free, some people regarded Sung as "the founder" of the Liangshan Mountain revolutionary cause, and it seemed that without him, there would have been no peasant uprisings at Liangshan. This view was influenced by the author who embellished Sung in practicing revisionism. From the viewpoint of class struggle, it was the Huangnikang riot led by Ch'ao Kai that truly marked the beginning of the Liangshan Mountain peasant uprisings. Before that, the events described in the novel could only be regarded as preludes to the whole story providing the background for the Liangshan peasant uprisings. It was because of this riot that Ch'ao and others went to the mountain, and their presence there led to the establishment of a revolutionary base of Liangshan peasants. When Wang Lun held Liangshan, he only carried out "lootings." It was only after Ch'ao became the leader of the stronghold that there was a program and line for "assembly for justice" and Liangshan became a base attracting heroes of uprisings everywhere. Therefore, the founder of the Liangshan cause was Ch'ao, not Sung. When Sung released Ch'ao, he only told the latter to seek refuge away from home, and earned himself the reputation of "man of justice" so as to expand his influence in society. He never took the revolutionary stand nor asked Ch'ao

to go up the mountain to rebel. This could be seen clearly from Sung's attitude toward Ch'ao's "seizure" of the birthday presents and Ch'ao's leading an insurgent force to Liangshan. Sung regarded the "seizure" of the birthday presents,which were ill-gotton wealth,as a "towering crime," and the capture of Ho T'ao and Huang An, the killing of government troops and perseverance in armed resistance as "unpardonable crimes" and "crimes punishable by the death of one's entire family." This showed Sung was strongly opposed to Ch'ao's assembly for justice. Therefore, Sung tried his utmost to break his ties with Liangshan Mountain. He would give himself up and be banished to Chiangchou with his face branded rather than go to Liangshan. How could such a faithful lackey of the feudal ruling class be described as "the founder" of the Liangshan cause?

After Sung went to Liangshan and became a leader there, did he change from a non-revolutionary to a revolutionary? No. After he sneaked into the Liangshan revolutionary ranks, he acted as an agent of the landlord class and continued to operate his counter-revolutionary cause. Immediately following Ch'ao's death, Sung changed Ch'ao's Chü-i T'ing to Chung-i T'ang. Chü-i T'ing was the symbol of upholding the peasant insurgent line by the revolutionaries led by Ch'ao, and the change of the name by Sung signified a radical change in the Liangshan line, deflating the will of the revolutionaries and inflating the arrogance of the capitulationists. This change marked the showdown by Sung in practicing revisionism. If it is said that while Ch'ao was still alive, Sung dared not act openly but mainly brought up his partners and carried out sabotage secretly, then, after Ch'ao's death, Sung openly hung up his signboard of revisionism and "revised" Ch'ao's line of uprising, forcing the Liangshan peasant insurgent army to follow his capitulationist line. From that moment on, this revolutionary force was heading step by step toward the road of destruction.

Sung gave long and careful consideration to practicing revisionism, but what did he want to "revise"? Mainly he wanted to "revise" Ch'ao's line of opposing both corrupt officials and the emperor and persisting in a peasant uprising into a capitulationist line of opposing only corrupt officials but not the emperor

and winning an offer of amnesty and enlistment. Chairman Mao points out: "The ruthless economic exploitation and political oppression of the landlord class over the peasants have forced the peasants to rise numerous times against the rule of the landlord class." The emperor was the chief representative of landlord class rule. Therefore, in order to make headway, a peasant insurgent force could never confine its struggle only to the opposition against a few corrupt officials, but must fight against the rule of the landlord class with the emperor as its chief representative. In spite of the fact that the author of Water Margin, to give prominence to the eulogy of Sung the capitulationist, deliberately refrained from writing little or nothing at all about Ch'ao's revolutionary thinking, words and deeds, we may still see from some fragmentary remarks in the book that the revolutionaries headed by Ch'ao opposed both corrupt officials and the emperor. Before Ch'ao went to Liangshan, he burned his own estate and with arms resisted arrest by government troops, showing his determination to break away from the landlord class and to oppose feudal rule to the end. He was nicknamed "Heavenly King." "The sky doesn't have two suns, nor a state has two rulers." To be king one must oppose the emperor. Under the guidance of Ch'ao's line of peasant uprising, Chu Kuei yelled: let's be "the sworn enemy of the

great Sung emperor." Li K'uei many times proposed: "Let's charge toward Tungching and seize the damn throne." Taking the stand of the feudal ruling class, the author of Water Margin, with his counter-revolutionary sense of smell, also realized that Ch'ao's line of persisting in peasant uprising took opposition to the emperor as its core. So, fearing that Ch'ao "aspired to be king," he let him "die early." On the other hand, he let Sung, who called himself "justice advocator," be the "leader of the stronghold." The moment this capitulationist, who "is loyal to the emperor but hates the evil ministers," became the leader, he limited the Liangshan peasant uprising force to the struggle against corrupt officials and not the emperor, thereby completely "revising" Ch'ao's line of uprising and betraying the peasant revolution.

In order to propagate Sung's capitulationist line of opposing only corrupt officials and not the emperor, Water Margin placed emphasis on the struggle between Sung and Kao Ch'iu. However, this struggle, as Chairman Mao pointed out, was merely a "struggle waged by one faction against another within the landlord class." As Sung and Kao differed in their social positions and political experience, contradictions and struggle arose between them when both sought to realize their own counter-revolutionary political ambitions and plunder the wealth of the people greedily. Hence two different factions were formed within the landlord class. But in opposing the peasant uprisings the interests of these two factions coincided. The only difference or contradiction was that one faction opposed the peasant uprising from the inside, while the other did so from the outside. One faction favored amnesty and enlistment, while the other favored encirclement and suppression. The peasant uprising at Liangshan was squelched only when the two factions joined their forces from within and without to offer amnesty and enlistment, and only after Sung sneaked into Liangshan Mountain. Sung was able to play a role that Kao Ch'iu could not play. The faction that advocated amnesty and enlistment and the faction that favored encirclement and suppression were identical in essence. Sung did not oppose the emperor, and in the end he accepted amnesty and enlistment and went to fight Fang La. At this time, he became a suppressionist like Kao Ch'iu, ruthlessly butchering the insurgent peasants and demonstrating his extreme cruelty characteristic of the landlord class. Renegades like Sung who wormed their way into the ranks of uprising peasants opposed only corrupt officials but not the emperor, and in the end would surely become hunting dogs of the feudal ruling class, opposing neither corrupt officials nor the emperor but suppressing only the peasant uprisings. Such is the inevitable outcome of practicing revisionism.

(II)

Those who practice revisionism and capitulationism politically will inevitably engage in splittism and sabotage revolutionary unity organizationally. In order to turn Liangshan into the capitulationists' stronghold, Sung intrigued and conspired against the revolutionaries and recruited many turncoats and renegades. He was the arch-criminal in practicing splittism.

Excluding Ch'ao Kai, the leader of the Liangshan uprising. In practicing splittism, Sung first directed the spearhead against Ch'ao.

Cooking up lies by using a children's song in the capital, he bragged about himself as being destined to become a leader and created public opinion for usurping power. To achieve his purpose of excluding Ch'ao, he resorted to all counter-revolutionary double-dealing tricks. Whenever Liangshan was about to take major military actions, he wouldn't let Ch'ao take command, saying such things as, "you elder brother are the master of Liangshan and mustn't act lightly." On the surface, he showed respect to Ch'ao, but in reality he wanted to make Ch'ao a "commander without an army." Then he would lead the men to fight, posing literally as the supreme commander of the armed forces. When he returned victoriously, he sought to establish his own prestige. Beginning with usurping the commanding power over the army, he usurped the entire leadership over Liangshan step by step. Ch'ao gradually perceived Sung's plot and launched a struggle against him. In attacking Tsengtou city, Ch'ao decided to assume personal command, and, as before, he was persuaded by Sung not to do so. Ch'ao said: "It is not my intention to take credit from you." This sentence, hitting the nail on the head, exposed Sung's bid to contend for credit and gain capital. Ch'ao's will also negated Sung's qualification to be "master of Liangshan Po" automatically. But regrettably it was too late, for Sung already had all the power in his hand.

Demoting the revolutionaries. With Ch'ao's death, the greatest obstacle in the way of capitulation was gone. However, the revolutionaries like Li K'uei, Wu Yung and the three Juan brothers would not capitulate. Wu Yung rebelled with Ch'ao and made tremendous contributions to building and developing the Liangshan revolutionary base. Sung was very well aware that if Wu Yung were in power, his capitulationist line could hardly succeed. So, he exerted every effort to recruit from miles away Lu Chün-i, a big landlord who was filled with inveterate hatred against the peasant uprisings, and put him in the No. 2 chair before Wu Yung. As a result, two white flags--"Justice advocator of Shantung" and "Jaded Unicorn of Hopei"--were hoisted in front of Chung-i T'ang, signifying a reorganization of the leadership group by Sung for the purpose of capitulation.

Recruiting and giving important positions to capitulationists. In order to expand the influence of the capitulationists, Sung recruited large numbers of the nobility and gentry, landlords, local despots and government military officers and installed them in important posts in the Liangshan uprising army both as a force to be relied on in pushing his capitulationist line and in order to change the class composition of the basic ranks of the insurgent army. Some of these people were forced to leave the landlord class due to its internal contradictions and seek temporary shelter in Liangshan, but their nature did not change. Others were captured by the Liangshan forces, and there being no other way out, lodged temporarily in the water margin waiting for amnesty and enlistment. Sung recruited these people and formed a task force of the landlord class headed by himself within the peasant insurgent army. They were ready at all times to reduce the Liangshan revolutionary base to ruins from within. This was definitely not "recruiting men of merit" but "recruiting renegades," pure and simple. Sung himself declared gleefully, "Look, over half of our brothers are government military officers." Li K'uei spoke the truth: "Most men in the stronghold are your men and support you." This showed that in order to practice the capitulationist line, Sung exerted every effort to rig up a capitulationist group and make organizational preparations for accepting amnesty and enlistment from the emperor.

Some people once thought that all that Sung did was to "unite the insurgent army." This is the result of looking at a question apart from the two-line struggle. Why did Sung ask the 108 people at Liangshan to "swear to Heaven, pledging that they will unite in will and heart and will live and die together, for better or for worse"? Because he wanted them to meekly submit to his orders in pushing the capitulationist line. The fact that Sung the capitulationist played every sinister trick to exclude the revolutionaries and usurp the leadership of the Liangshan insurgent army clearly showed that he was not a person who wanted "unity" at Liangshan but was a conspirator and careerist practicing splittism.

(III)

The ideological line is the basis of the political and organizational lines. Sung's practicing capitulationism was not accidental but was determined by his reactionary stand and world outlook of the landlord class. It was a product of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius he believed in and preached.

Sung was born of a landlord class family and "studied Confucianism in his childhood." He was "steeped in classics and history," and the Confucian ideology was rooted in his mind. Though he later led a vagrant life, "serving the country with loyalty" and "making a name in history" remained his "soaring ambition." After he went to Liangshan, he babbled about "loyalty and justice," holding the "Heavenly Book" in his hand, with his "body in the water margin, heart in the imperial court." There was not the slightest change in his landlord class stand and world outlook.

As a Confucian disciple, Sung mainly followed the reactionary Confucian school of rationalism in the Sung dynasty. The Sung school of rationalism made the Confucian three cardinal rules and five constant virtues still more absolute, and formulated them into "principles of Heaven." It developed the Confucian fallacies such as "unity of Heaven and man" and "the power of the sovereign is bestowed by God." It believed that "to be loyal to the sovereign" was to submit to the "principles of Heaven," and that to rebel against the sovereign was to go against the "principles of Heaven." Water Margin was completed at the end of the Yuan Dynasty and at the beginning of the Ming Dynasty and was deeply stamped with the brand of rationalism. Through such preposterous plots as receiving a "Heavenly Book" from the Goddess of Ninth Heaven and "receiving Heavenly instruction at Shihchieh," it trumpeted "unity of Heaven and man" and combined "loyalty and justice" for the sake of the emperor and "carrying out Heaven's wish" into a single whole. Sung precisely was a trumpeter of such reactionary ideas. He believed that to be loyal to the emperor was to "submit to Heaven" and that to go to Liangshan to rebel was to "go against Heaven's principles." This was the origin of his reactionary idea not to oppose the emperor but to accept amnesty and enlistment and practice capitulationism.

The feudal ruling class "forced the people to believe in the trash of Confucius as religious dogma." Only by breaking the fetters of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius could peasants rise up to rebel, and

the peasant uprisings most vigorously criticized and condemned the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Therefore, in practicing capitulationism, Sung inevitably had to pick up the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as a reactionary ideological weapon and push the Confucian ideological line in the peasant uprising army. Following the reactionary dogma of rationalism, he exerted every effort to link "Heavenly mandate" with "loyalty and justice" and peddled them in order to re-impose on the peasant uprising army the spiritual yoke of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and reform the Liangshan peasant uprising army in the image of the landlord class.

While Ch'ao Kai was alive, Sung,following the "decree" given by the Goddess of Ninth Heaven, propagated "carrying out Heaven's wish" and "serving the country with loyalty." When Ch'ao died, he openly unfurled the banner of "carrying out Heaven's wish" as a capitulationist program. When the 108 people at Liangshan were holding a meeting, he deceived them with the "Heavenly instruction at Shihchieh." Organizationally, he assigned to himself and to those who supported him in practicing capitulationism important "seats," and this became the "will of Heaven and earth," a will nobody dared to defy. Politically, he sought amnesty from the emperor, and this also conformed to the "will of Heaven," beyond dispute by anyone! In China's history, some peasant uprisings made use of religion and proceeded in the name of "Heaven" or "God." But their purpose was to prove that it was justified to rebel against reactionaries. Yet Sung used Heavenly will to prove that it was justified to surrender to reactionaries, and he could not be more reactionary!

In order to lead the peasant army to the road of capitulation, Sung also did his best to ask all his men to "bear loyalty and justice in mind." By changing Chü-i T'ing to Chung-i T'ang, he openly displayed his signboard of "loyalty and justice" at Liangshan. "Being both loyal and just" was the guiding thought he gave the peasant insurgent army. "Let's all achieve both loyalty and justice and win merit for the state"--this was the oath he wanted the 108 people to observe. Sung rarely opened his mouth without talking about "loyalty and justice." Even on his death-bed, he still said shamelessly: "All my life I have consistently tried to uphold loyalty and justice." His so-called "loyalty and justice" did not mean "loyalty and justice" to the Liangshan revolutionary cause as some people said, but loyalty to the great Sung emperor in accordance with the "decree" of "achieving loyalty and justice for the master" given by the Goddess of Ninth Heaven. The aim was to use "loyalty and justice" as a rope to tie the hands of the peasant uprising forces and throw them at the feet of the supreme feudal ruler, so they might once again be subjected to exploitation and enslavement by the landlord class.

However, "loyalty and justice," particularly "loyalty to the emperor," could not be reconciled with the uprising peasants' long-cherished hatred of their oppressors and exploiters. Therefore, what Sung preached was not always accepted by the insurgent army. Even after amnesty and enlistment were accepted, opposition to the Confucian concept of "loyalty and justice" still existed among some people. When Yen Ch'ing shot down some geese with his arrows, was there anything alarming? However, using this as a topic, Sung wrote a poem dwelling on "benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom and trustworthiness." This was because, after amnesty and enlistment were accepted, the two-line struggle for and against capitulationism was not

over yet. At that time, Li K'uei and other revolutionaries were unwilling to capitulate and time and again thought of returning to Liangshan to rebel. Sensing the futility of winning popular support with "loyalty" alone, Sung felt it necessary to step up all-round propaganda on Confucian concepts so as to further sap their spirit of resistance and destroy their revolutionary will by a combination of Confucian "constant virtues" and "loyalty and justice." If it is said that before amnesty and enlistment were accepted, Sung pushed the Confucian line for the purpose of leading the peasant insurgent forces to the blind alley of class capitulationism and loyalty to the emperor, then, after amnesty and enlistment were accepted, his continuing to push the same line showed his intention to let his men capitulate and serve as lackeys till their death.

This Confucian ideological line pushed by Sung was practically a dose of strong poison. The fact that the Liangshan peasant insurgent army evolved peacefully into a government army of the landlord class was the result of taking this dose of poison. To persist in making revolution and oppose capitulation, it is necessary to thoroughly criticize the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. This is an important historical experience.

(IV)

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The merit of the book Water Margin lies precisely in the portrayal of capitulation." The general trend of capitulation in Water Margin is manifested through extolling Sung the capitulationist. Therefore, to expose the real features of Sung the capitulationist is very important in seeing that Water Margin is a teaching material by negative example preaching capitulationism.

In literary works, "the principal character represents a certain class and tendency." ("Letter from Engels to Lassalle, May 18, 1859") The revolutionaries headed by Ch'ao Kai represented the peasantry and firmly adhered to the line of peasant uprisings. The capitulationists headed by Sung Chiang represented the landlord class and pushed the capitulationist line. However, Water Margin puts Sung and his capitulationist line in the dominating position of contradiction throughout, and this determines the general trend of the whole book, that is, it inevitably demotes Ch'ao and promotes Sung, demeans the revolutionaries, lauds the capitulationists and preaches capitulationism.

Water Margin does all it can to embellish Sung. A shameless renegade is lauded as the "benefactor" at Liangshan; a lackey of the emperor is embellished as "Welcome Rain" "bringing succor to all living things." The reactionary capitulationist line is depicted as a correct line conforming to "Heaven's will" and enjoying "popular support." The farce of accepting amnesty and enlistment is hailed as a grand festival in the Liangshan revolutionary base. From beginning to end, Water Margin is full of praise for Sung and his revisionist and capitulationist line, and nowhere is it critical of them. Some people once suggested that since the book ended with Sung's death after he drank imperial wine, this was "criticism of capitulationism." The fact is not so. Books like The Story of Roving Bandits /Tang K'ou Chih/ which depict all the butchers who suppressed peasant uprisings as enjoying long lives and prosperity are indeed undisguised counter-revolutionary eulogies; yet books like Water Margin which portrays Sung's sacrifice for the capitulationist line are also

covert counter-revolutionary eulogies. The novel describes how Sung retains his faith in the capitulationist line even in the face of death, how, after drinking the poisoned wine, he does not forget to poison his "most intimate" sworn brother, Li K'uei, to death, and how Sung's death so inspires Wu Yung, who is unwilling to surrender, that he hangs himself beside Sung's tomb. In this way, the author painstakingly portrayed Sung's undying faith in the capitulationist line and finally completed the image of a capitulationist who "achieved both loyalty and justice." He could not do anything more.

Ch'ao Kai, Li K'uei, Wu Yung and the three Juan brothers are good men and are unwilling to surrender. Yet these revolutionaries were deprecated and distorted and were placed in subordinate roles. "Excluding Ch'ao Kai from the 108 people" was one of the most insidious and malicious means used by the author to deprecate the revolutionaries. In "Anecdots of the Hsüan Ho Period" and Kung Sheng-yü's "Praise to Sung Chiang and Other 35 Persons" published before Water Margin or in "Monk Pao Tzu," a miscellaneous play in the Ming published after it, Ch'ao was listed among the 36 persons. However, the author of Water Margin tampered with many records and legends, excluded Ch'ao from the 108 people, and placed Sung on top of the list as the principal character to be praised. Even Ch'ao's attack on Chuchiachuang in a Yüan musical play was surreptitiously changed to Sung's attack on Chuchiachuang. Many records and legends before the appearance of Water Margin described Ch'ao as opposing the emperor and Sung not doing so. Even up to the end of Ming, Chang Tai's "In Praise of 48 people on the Tablet of Water Margin" still described Ch'ao as "a brigand having the look of a king" and Sung as "full of loyalty and justice, with many tricks in his sleeves." Precisely because of this, in deprecating Ch'ao and praising Sung, the aim of Water Margin is to give prominence to the capitulationists and extol capitulationism.

Water Margin is a work propagating capitulationism, a teaching material by negative example. However, in evaluating it in the past, many people, departing from Marxist class analysis, made a wrong appraisal of Sung Chiang, failing to discern the general trend of capitulationism advocated by Water Margin or to distinguish between the correct and incorrect lines. Hu Shih, the comprador man of letters, used the idealist viewpoint in studying Water Margin and had a very bad influence on some people. Since 1920 Hu Shih has written several articles on Water Margin. Taking the stand of a lackey of imperialism and using the idealist pragmatic method of "making bold assumptions and carefully seeking verification," he praised Sung as "an immortal hero." In the current intensive criticism of and discussion on Water Margin, it is also necessary to criticize Hu Shih's idealism and eradicate its pernicious influence.

The criticism of and discussion on Water Margin, both past and present, has fully proved the importance of studying Marxist theories. Let us, through criticism of and discussion on Water Margin, further grasp the sharp weapon of Marxism, strengthen the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the sphere of the superstructure, and carry the great struggle to combat and prevent revisionism through to the end!

* * *

Comment on Chin Sheng-t'an's Mutilation of Water Margin

- with a refutation of Hu Shih's fallacies and his praise of the version with Chin's commentaries

by

Wen Chung (闻钟)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 10, Oct. 1, 1975)

Mutilation of Water Margin by Chin Sheng-t'an, a reactionary man of letters, toward the end of the Ming period was a reflection in the cultural and ideological spheres of the fierce class struggle in society at that time. Its bad and pernicious influence has persisted to the present.

At about the 14th year of Ch'ungchen, Chin Sheng-t'an falsely claimed that he had obtained the original 70-chapter version of Water Margin by Shih Nai-an, an edition believed to have been lost long ago. In reality he cut up the 100-chapter version which was then in circulation, chopping more than 20 chapters after Chapter 71, such as those about "accepting offer of amnesty and enlistment" and "leading an expedition against Fang La." He also deleted passages that follow the "seating order" episode in Chapter 71 of the original version and added an episode about Lu Chün-i wakening from a nightmare as the end of the whole book. This version so pleased the feudal ruling class that it was given promotion. Subsequently, it gained wide circulation and surpassed all other editions in popularity.

As "mutilation" set a very bad example Lu Hsün was very dissatisfied with it. More recently Chairman Mao pointed out: "The merit of the book Water Margin lies precisely in the portrayal of capitulation. It serves as teaching material by negative example to help all people recognize capitulationists." However, Chin Sheng-t'an chopped the essence and many other important aspects of the whole course of capitulation from this teaching material by negative example.

From his chopping of 20-odd chapters we can see how the capitulationists used the leadership power they usurped to conspire about imposing a capitulationist line on the revolutionary contingent and thus caused the revolution to fail. The struggle at the chrysanthemum banquet was actually a clash between the two lines. The capitulationist Sung Chiang took advantage of the revolutionists' commitment to a sense of justice and other weaknesses to defeat them by alternately employing soft and tough tactics and resorting to the counter-revolutionary means of splitting and disintegrating them. Having forced through the capitulationist line, he began a series of moves aimed at fawning upon the Sung imperial court, pleading for clemency and asking for surrender. For this reason, Sung proceeded to Tungching to make contacts and did not hesitate to bribe Li Shih-shih, the emperor's favorite courtesan and curry favor with Su Yüan-ching, a senior court minister. With this two-pronged action he succeeded in having access to Sung Hui Tsung's inner circle of courtiers and finally made a deal with the imperial court. After this successful betrayal he became the Sung

court's lackey and set out to fight Fang La. In this way the despicable Sung, like the goat in the front, led the peasant insurgents into the slaughterhouse of the feudal rulers. This doomed the Liangshan revolutionary cause. Lu Hsün said, "The enemy is not to be feared. What is fearsome are the termites in one's own camp for many things could be foiled by them."(1) In this sense Sung was a big worm. As Chin Sheng-t'an deleted these passages, people find it difficult to perceive the harm done by the termites. Furthermore, Chin also deleted passages describing how Li K'uei tore up the imperial edict offering amnesty and enlistment, how Juan the Seventh had bottles of imperial wine replaced by local wines and how Li Chün and others disobeyed Sung's explicit orders and killed captured officers of government troops. This obliterated the fighting spirit of the revolutionaries who were opposed to surrender.

Chin Sheng-t'an also maliciously tampered with his own abridged 70-chapter version. Passages in the original edition that were critical of corrupt officials were carefully glossed over by him. "Overstated" expressions such as "brought woes to all the people"(2) and those that could reflect unfavorably on the imperial court and ballads like "the peasants were deeply troubled by the half parched rice fields in the scorching sun, but the scions of rich and powerful families waved their fans"(3) were all deleted. In Chapter 44 Tai Tsung said: "The court is unaware" and "treacherous courtiers block the way." These were found improper and were changed by him to read "the court blocks the way" and "treacherous courtiers are in the dark." This not only strengthened Water Margin's original political tendency of opposing only corrupt officials and not the emperor and absolving the latter but also lessened the guilt of the corrupt officials. In vilifying the peasant insurgents, Chin tried to outdo Shih Nai-an. For instance, he changed Chang Heng's aria "unafraid of the officials or Heaven" to read "dislike company but like money."(4) He let Wu Yung say something like "Since we have nothing to do in the warm spring, why not have some fun in fighting."(5) In Chapter 60 Ch'ao Kai was ready to lead his men to attack Tsengtou city, but Sung twice "persistently persuaded" Ch'ao not to do so, even "intimidating" Ch'ao to drop the idea of taking personal command. Sung frequently lied to Ch'ao for the purpose of usurping his command power. When Ch'ao found that he was no longer holding power, he sought to regain it through the battle of Tsengtou city. Chin Sheng-t'an, however, even deleted the passages dealing with "persistent persuasion" and "intimidation."

Water Margin thus becomes in Chin's hand a mutilated and incomplete book like "a dragonfly without its tail." This blurs people's recognition of Sung's capitulationist line and how it grows in strength within the revolutionary contingent until it completely ruins the entire revolutionary undertaking. It likewise blurs their recognition of the hideous features of the capitulationists in betraying the revolution and becoming lackeys. In this sense, what has been chopped has given rise to something untruthful, making it impossible for Water Margin to fully serve its role as teaching material by negative example.

Why, then, did Chin Sheng-t'an cut up Water Margin? What was his reactionary motive? This requires an analysis of Chin's ideology and stand and of the class struggle situation under which Chin set out to mutilate Water Margin.

Chin was born of a landlord class family in Suchou, Kiangsu, in the 36th year of Wanli (1608). He received a Confucian education in his youth and aspired to candidacy in the imperial civil service examination. Having failed numerous times, he was unsuccessful in getting an official appointment. Although he was born in the period between the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, he was deferential and submissive to the feudal rulers of both dynasties. When he learned that Ch'ing Emperor Shun Chih appreciated his writings, he burst into grateful tears and acknowledged with "kowtowing" in "due reverence." He said, "Suddenly the emperor appreciates my talent, and raises the name of a humble servant to that of a sage." "Who am I? How many could have their works appraised by His Majesty?"(6) Such were the revolting features of a lackey. In the 18th year of Shun Chih (1661), he was beheaded by the Ch'ing government on charges of "attempted sedition" because of his involvement in a case of "resistance to grain deliveries." In fact, since he was so deeply ingrained in Confucian trash and was a faithful lackey of the landlord class, could he have been implicated in an "attempted sedition"? Lu Hsün once compared Chin's contradiction with the Ch'ing government with disputes between men of letters of the comprador-bourgeois class and Chiang Kai-shek, except that Chin fared more miserably--"he not only failed to get a professor's appointment but was behead."(7)

Chin was known for his utterly reactionary ideas. As a devotee of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, he fanatically praised the reactionary Confucius for "possessing the virtues of a sage without having the title of a sage."(8) He embellished the "Six Classics" and said that with the help of this Confucian "canon" the empire of the feudal rulers could be handed down from generation to generation. He wholeheartedly defended the reactionary rule of the feudal imperial court. When the Ming imperial court was on the verge of crumbling under the impact of the peasant uprisings, Chin became bitter and made every effort to save it. This shows that his hostility toward peasant uprisings was determined by his background, upbringing and thinking.

The landlord class' brutal economic exploitation and political repression of the peasantry in the last years of the Ming period stirred up nationwide peasant uprisings. Of these the two insurgent forces led by Li Tzu-ch'eng and Chang Hsien-chung were the most powerful. They swept irresistibly from the south to the north. This gravely endangered the reactionary rule of the Ming imperial court on the brink of falling apart. Emperor Ch'ung Chen at the time adopted a counter-revolutionary double-dealing policy of combining suppression with pacification, "suppressing those who resist and pacifying those who submit"(9) Those favoring pacification practiced political deceit in a vain attempt to buy off, split and disintegrate the insurgent contingents. But the peasant insurgents repeatedly smashed the Ming imperial court's amnesty and enlistment intrigues. During the reign of Ch'ung Chen, many prominent and senior ministers, such as the Defense Minister Hsiung Wen Ts'an, the Assistant Defense Minister Ch'en Ch'i-yü, and the governor of Shensi, Yang Ho, were unsuccessful in their pacification attempts. Subsequently, they were either beheaded or banished. This development to a very large extent influenced Chin's strategy of opposing peasant uprisings. Drawing lessons from the repeated failures of the Ming imperial court to carry out the policy of amnesty and enlistment to the insurgents and summing up counter-revolutionary experience, he was vehemently opposed to amnesty and enlistment moves, and through his commentaries on

Water Margin he frenziedly advocated military suppression. He chose Water Margin because it was then very popular and in wide circulation. In this sense he could make use of its impact on society. On the other hand, the novel was opposed to peasant uprisings and this was in accord with the basic stand taken by Chin. But the book also preached a policy of pacification, which in Chin's view was not too effective and had to be removed. This was the reason why he tampered with Water Margin and mutilated it.

What are the reactionary viewpoints preached by Chin after he commented on, tampered with and mutilated Water Margin?

In the first place, Chin vilified and slandered the peasant uprisings, abusing the peasant insurgents as "brigands" and "a group of clowns who "make trouble for the imperial court."(10) They were "monsters in the empire."(11) He heaped abuse on the Liangshan leaders on the pretext of commenting on their nicknames, reviling "Leopard's Head" Lin Ch'ung as being among "the vicious beasts that are identified with the 108 men."(12) He accused "Black Whirlwind" Li K'uei of "assembling evil things in one place."(13) He also spoke abusively of Li K'uei's nickname preceded by the word "black"--signifying darkness when he entered the body of water. He also attacked the just struggle waged by the peasants against the landlord class as "killing and looting," "offending the superior by making trouble" and "violating the decrees of the state." In the eyes of this landlord, the peasants should submit themselves to enslavement and oppression and any sign of resistance should be summarily repressed. In his commentaries he therefore called for "extermination of all the family members of the rebels."(14) It is true that where there is oppression there is resistance. The peasant revolts were brought about by brutal oppression and exploitation by the landlord class. Confusing black with white, Chin instead spoke of the insurgents as "taking the stance of jackals and tigers"(15) since childhood, "taking to fist fights, uneducated by their fathers and elder brothers" and "shunning productive labor" when they grew up, and "assembling for plunder."(16) These strange utterances covered up the bloody crimes of the landlord class and negated class contradictions. He vilified the peasant insurgents as being born bad. This fully unmasked him, like all other reactionaries, as a downright idealist.

Second, he was devoted to the feudal ruling class and did his best to defend that class. Prating about the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, he spared no effort to trumpet them. He regarded the emperor as a "sage," the "Son of Heaven," declaring that only the emperor had "authority" and "virtue" and everybody must remain unconditionally loyal to him without any manifestation of dissent. In his commentaries, he therefore did everything possible to trumpet the Confucian and Mencian concepts of loyalty and filial piety: "Loyalty is what makes all things flourish," "it is the way for dealing with all men";(17) "filial piety is the virtue of submissiveness, the source of all happiness";(18) they were "the scale for weighing all things," the "yardstick for measuring the world,"(19) and they "can be applied to the four seas."(20) When the flames of peasant uprisings were burning high, Chin dwelt on loyalty and filial piety and extolled these reactionary Confucian ideas as unalterable principles and enduring truth. He did so for the purpose of using the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius to benumb the people and blunt their fighting will. In his

attempt to defend the dying feudal dynasty, his reactionary political motive was as clear as daylight. Although he spoke kindly of Water Margin's depiction of corrupt officials in a bad light and harshly of these corrupt officials, he did so precisely for the purpose of safeguarding the basic interests of the feudal imperial court, expressing his only fear that the corrupt officials might topple the emperor from power if they continued to perpetrate misdeeds. If one were to embellish Chin for this, the matter would have gone beyond the question of muddle-headedness.

Third, Chin fanatically preached the idea of "summary extermination" by means of tampering with and mutilating Water Margin. He attacked those who were in favor of amnesty and enlistment and said their "conciliatory tone would cause the imperial court to lose its dignity," with the result that "even those who had no thought of rebellion would rebel and then the world would become unruly." He did not believe that "luring one thief into attacking another would hurt both". He held that the result would be just the opposite, for "the two would join together and become more violent."(21) Although both Chin and Shih Nai-an, author of Water Margin, served as spokesmen for the landlord class and were hostile to peasant uprisings, with Chin even praising Shih, their approaches to dealing with the peasant uprisings differed. Shih favored pacification and his Water Margin extols amnesty and enlistment and preaches surrender. Chin, however, viewed appeasing a "top brigand" like Sung Chiang and giving him office as a most dangerous thing. In accordance with his own desire, he cut off more than 20 chapters of the original edition after Chapter 71. He falsely claimed that these chapters were not found in Shih's original version, but were added by Lo Kuan-chung like "an additional dog's tail."(22) He did this to cover up his divergence with Shih so he could turn Shih's Water Margin--a book that extols amnesty and enlistment--into one that exterminates all peasant insurgents. By fabricating a god, Chi Shu-yeh, who kills all of the 108 Liangshan leaders in Lu Chün-i's dream, he was in fact using a spiritual victory to console himself. This is both foolish and pitiful. The Chi Shu-yeh he invoked was nothing but the illusory image of the declining classes. His blind faith in a policy of slaughter was as ineffective as that of appeasement. In the third year following Chin's mutilation of Water Margin, the insurgent army led by Li Tzu-ch'eng entered the city of Peiching, forcing Emperor Ch'ung Chen to hang himself on Meishan. The revolutionary peasant uprisings swept away corrupt officials and emperors, with historical dialectics relentlessly mocking such reactionaries as Chin.

Chin's mutilation of Water Margin won the hearty approval of the landlord-bourgeois classes. They spoke approvingly of the version with Chin's commentaries, saying that the abridged edition was "so well tailored"(23) that it "has pioneered for future generations,"(24) with the result that rebellious peasants "shudder with fear" and "dare not do anything wrong."(25) Among those who loudly applauded the version with Chin's commentaries was Hu Shih, a comprador man of letters. He wrote two lengthy articles, "Verification of Water Margin" and "Later Verification of Water Margin," respectively in July 1920 and June 1921. As he said, he spent much of his time on these two works because of his "fondness for history" and "fondness for verification." (26)

Is what Hu Shih said true? No!

Not that he was particularly "fond" of history or verification, but, to put it bluntly, he had a "fondness for counter-revolution." The appearance of Hu Shih's two poisonous weeds coincided with a major turning point--China's entry into the historical period of the new democratic revolution. The May 4 Movement occurred in 1919, followed by the founding of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921, indicating the surge of the revolutionary storm. At this moment Hu Shih, who identified himself with the new cultural movement, "became impatient." Discarding his disguise as a "new cultural fighter," he clamored for "devoting more time to the study of problems and less time to the discussion of isms."(27) He was pointing the spearhead at Marxism. Later, he returned to the fold of imperialist and feudal forces to show his penitence. Declaring that he was "a little innocent man," he said, "Searching the history of my life, I did not know if I had the honor of fighting against feudalism."(28) He admitted that his participation in the new cultural movement was tantamount to his being "driven to Liangshan."(29) Like Sung Chiang, he was also a capitulationist.

Hu Shih's idealist approach to the verification of Water Margin was aimed at undermining the deepening of the revolutionary movement and leading young people astray. He bragged about teaching young people "some techniques for self-defense" and "teaching people a method to guard themselves against deception." To defend against what? He said: "To be led by the nose by Marx, Lenin and Stalin won't make one a hero."(30) This revealed his counter-revolutionary secret. His preoccupation with verification was for the purpose of opposing Marxism. At the time, indeed, some young people were so influenced by Hu Shih that they applied themselves to book learning and research and thus slid into the labyrinth of scholastic verifications. They became unconcerned with the destiny of the motherland and divorced themselves from the roaring anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolutionary struggles. Hu Shih the capitulationist succeeded with some young people what the Government of the Northern Warlords failed to achieve with batons, hoses and rifles. No wonder the warlords looked upon this modern Sung Chiang with such favor. In his articles Hu Shih discussed ways to exterminate all the bandits to achieve peace throughout the land. He was in fact devising ways and means for the warlord government and swaying public opinion in favor of strangling the revolution. Therefore, Hu Shih's verifications of Water Margin emit the strong odor of blood.

Out of counter-revolutionary political needs, Hu Shih did his best to laud Chin Sheng-t'an as "a person of unparalleled wisdom," "a bizarre hero of the 17th century."(31) This was one lackey praising another and one clown applauding another. Hu applauded Chin because the two were similar in thinking, feelings and stand. Both were hostile to the people's revolution and in the face of the revolutionary storm they vainly tried to carry out moribund struggles. In Hu Shih's own words, they shared "similar experiences."(32) Hu praised Chin also because he wanted to borrow Chin's banner to preach his own reactionary viewpoint. He gingerly invoked Chin's departed soul and used it to save the fatal reverses of the big landlord and big comprador classes. However, the great victory of the Chinese people's revolution proves that Hu's wishful thinking, like Chin's invoking of Chi Shu-yeh in his time, was nothing but a fond dream.

Hu Shih was full of praise for Chin's mutilation of Water Margin. He defended Chin by insisting that Chin had access to the original edition of Water Margin. He applauded the version with Chin's commentaries and referred to it as "a singular book of indelible appeal," "a synthesis of 400 years of stories on the body of Water, marking a major epoch featuring the complete establishment of the Chinese vernacular literature."(33) Among Chinese literary classics, this "singular book" was perhaps the only one that was given such high estimation by Hu Shih. As everybody knows, in the eyes of this lackey, Hu Shih, nothing in China could compare with things foreign. His approach to the fine literary heritage of the motherland was always a nihilist one. Why, then, did he prostrate himself before the Water Margin version with Chin's commentaries and look upon it as divine? The secret is that he wanted to make use of this work to perpetrate counter-revolutionary misdeeds. Didn't Hu identify himself as a devotee of experimentalism? The essence of experimentalism is "what is useful is the truth." In other words, what is "useful" to the big landlord and big comprador classes embodies the "truth." Hu found the version with Chin's commentaries useful to them so he just played it up without entertaining any scruples. As a matter of fact, he praised the version with Chin's commentaries as a means of achieving the ultimate aim of making people believe what he professed to preach, that is, "robbers resisting the government" "should in no way be promoted and should be castigated,"(34) and that "peace throughout the land can in no way be achieved until all the robbers are exterminated."(35) Clearly, what he referred to here as "robbers" was an allusion to the revolutionary forces of the proletariat at that time. What he meant by "peace throughout the land" implied suppression of the revolution and turning China into an imperialist colony. In this sense Hu was far ahead of Chin for he not only betrayed the new cultural movement and capitulated to the big landlord and big comprador classes but also sold out China to imperialism. He was a despicable national capitulationist.

After liberation, under Chairman Mao's leadership, the Chinese people in the 1950's penetratingly criticized Hu Shih's reactionary ideas. However, due to interference and sabotage of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by Liu Shao-ch'i, Hu's pernicious influence was not completely eradicated. In respect to comments on and publication of Water Margin in particular, serious problems still persisted. A number of people picked up the leftover from Hu Shih and continued to applaud Chin Sheng-t'an's mutilation of Water Margin. They referred to the version with Chin's commentaries as a "fine abridged version," "capable of retaining its completeness" and as a "textbook on peasant uprisings." When revisionist ideas spread unchecked at home and abroad in the early years of the 1960's, the academic circles were swept by an evil wind of reversing the verdict on Chin Sheng-t'an. These utterances were diametrically opposed to the thesis maintained by Lu Hsün and concealed the essence of the capitulationist line preached in Water Margin. This blurred people's recognition of the true features of Sung Chiang in promoting revisionism and capitulationism. All this shows that class struggle in the ideological field is protracted, complex and acute.

Today, using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as a weapon, we must completely criticize the reactionary ideas of Chin Sheng-t'an and Hu Shih and eliminate their pernicious influence. We must restore the original features of Water Margin and bring into play this teaching material by negative example to "help all the people recognize capitulationists." We must carry the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat to its completion!

NOTES:

(1) Lu Hsün, "Letters to Hsiao Chün and Hsiao Hung." Correspondence of Lu Hsün (Vol. II), People's Literature Publishing House, 1953 edition.

(2) Complete Story of Water Margin, Chapter 63, Chunghua Book Company, 1975 edition.

(3) Ibid, Chapter 16.

(4) Water Margin edition with Chin's Commentaries, Chapter 36.

(5) Ibid, Chapter 67.

(6) Chin Sheng-t'an, "Selected Poems of Ch'enyinlou"

(7) Lu Hsün, "About Chin Sheng-t'an", Complete Works of Lu Hsün, Vol. IV, People's Literature Publishing House, 1957 edition.

(8) Water Margin edition with Chin's Commentaries, Preface I.

(9) Historical Data on Peasant Uprisings toward the End of Ming: "Reports by the Defense Ministry on Suppression of Bandits and Related Events", edited by Cheng T'ien-t'ing and others.

(10) Water Margin edition with Chin's Commentaries, Chapter 17, General Evaluation.

(11), (15), (17) Ibid, Preface II.

(12) Ibid, Chapter 14, Some Comments.

(13) Ibid, Chapter 10, General Evaluation.

(14) & (21) Ibid, "Index to Sung History".

(16) Ibid, Chapter 57, General Evaluation.

(18) & (20) Ibid, Chapter 41, General Evaluation.

(19) Ibid, Preface III.

(22) Ibid, Chapter 70, General Evaluation.

(23) Liu T'ing-chi: "Tsaiyuan Journal," Vol. II.

(24) Liao Yen, Biography of Mr. Chin Sheng-t'an.

(25) Wang Wang-ju: "Comments on Chuhsiang Water Margin".

(26), (31), (32), (33) & (34) Hu Shih, "Verification of Water Margin".

(27) Hu Shih, "My Detour".

(28) Hu Shih, "A Big Defect in Today's Intellectual Circles".

(29) Hu Shih, "Driven to Liangshan".

(30) Hu Shih, "Introducing My Thoughts".

(35) Hu Shih, "Preface to 120-Chapter Water Margin".

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Water Margin and Class Struggle in Sung Dynasty

by

Yang Jung-kuo (杨荣国)

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Chairman Mao's instruction concerning the criticism of Water Margin has profoundly revealed the essence of the novel in propagating the capitulationist line and the true face of Sung Chiang in practicing capitulationism and revisionism. To unfold criticism of and discussion on this novel with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought represents another major struggle on China's political and ideological fronts, a struggle of far-reaching realistic significance in clarifying the misceptions about Water Margin over many years and in helping us deepen the study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship and combat and prevent revisionism. I want to talk about some of my understanding in studying Chairman Mao's instruction in the context of the historical facts of peasant wars in the Sung Dynasty.

Whether or not to oppose the emperor has been a touchstone over the ages for distinguishing the revolutionary from the capitulationist line in peasant uprisings. The emperor was the chieftain of the landlord class, and the feudal court was the state machine for the landlord class to impose its dictatorship over the peasantry. Therefore, the numerous peasant uprisings in Chinese history invariably directed their spearhead at the emperor and the feudal court. Li K'uei in Water Margin yelled again and again: "Let's charge toward Tungching and seize the damn throne." This was nothing more than a simple demand of the insurgent peasants to overthrow the dictatorship of the landlord class and found a peasant revolutionary regime. However, throughout Water Margin, Li's revolutionary spirit of opposing the emperor is negated. What the novel advocates is the capitulationist line calling for opposition to only corrupt officials and not the emperor. Opposition to only corrupt officials and not the emperor is taken by the novel as the guiding thought of peasant uprisings, and the real historical facts of class struggle during the Northern Sung period are completely distorted.

The central authority under the feudal autocratic system was greatly strengthened by the Sung Dynasty. The emperor held absolute power in the feudal state and was the biggest landlord and exploiter in the whole country. The reactionary policies adopted by the successive emperors of Northern Sung to capitulate to foreign powers and step up plunder at home caused the vast masses of peasants to lose their land and homes and suffer untold hardships, leading to a series of peasant uprisings against the emperor and feudal rule. The peasant insurgent forces raised the revolutionary slogan--"Remove the gap between the rich and the poor and the distinctions between the noble and the mean," made claims to their land, and firmly opposed the feudal order of social rank and land system as well as feudal oppression and exploitation. They also set up their own kingdoms, installed their own officials, and instituted a revolutionary government in a confrontation with the feudal court, showing their determination to overthrow the Sung

emperor and topple feudal political power. By the time Sung Hui Tsung, Chao Chi, ascended the throne, the contradiction between the peasants and the emperor became even more acute. Chao Chi set up such organs as the Land Office, the Civil Engineering Office and the Frontier Affairs Office and directed such feudal officials as Yang Chien and Li Yen to expropriate large amounts of "civilian land" for him in a frenzied attempt to plunder the land. He also ordered that precious products such as strange flowers and gems be collected from the rich regions in the lower reaches of the Yangtze River and shipped to the capital for his enjoyment. The hard-pressed peasants answered this heavy oppression and exploitation by the emperor with resolute armed uprisings. Fang La, a leader of the peasant uprisings at the same time as Sung Chiang, endorsed the people's angry denunciation of the Sung emperor's foreign and domestic policies, and pointed out, "the people in the east and south have long been suffering from exploitation." He called on the peasants to rise up to rebel against the emperor. In addition, after sizing the revolutionary situation at that time, he made the assessment that "in ten years' time the insurgent forces will overthrow the Sung Dynasty and unify the whole country." This was a bold declaration of the insurgent peasants' resolve to smash the feudal state machine, to "dare to unhorse the emperor." These historical facts show the irreconciliability between the revolutionary peasants and the feudal court. By imposing on the revolutionary peasants a capitulationist line of opposing only corrupt officials and not the emperor, Water Margin does nothing but viciously slander the peasant uprisings.

Opposing only corrupt officials and not the emperor satisfied the needs of protecting feudal rule. In history, whenever the principal contradiction in feudal society was being intensified and peasant uprisings were spreading like wild fire, some emperors also often clamored for "opposing corrupt officials," and pretentiously demanded "cleaning up the government" in an attempt to hoodwink the peasants and achieve the criminal aim of diverting the spearhead of revolution and disintegrating the insurgent forces. For instance, when Wang Hsiao-po and Li Shun started their uprisings in the early years of Northern Sung, Sung T'ai Tsung, Chao K'uang-i hypocritically told the insurgent peasants: "You're good people. You've become bandits only because of maladministration by the officials." ("Facts of the Sung Dynasty," Vol. 17) He also said: "I appointed the wrong men, and officials who endeared themselves to the people were prevented from exercising authority.... That is why our people, denied justice, rose to join the wild bandits." ("Sequel to the General Outline History 續資治通鑑長編", Vol. 36) Chao dressed himself up as a "good emperor" who was devoted to the people and who appointed several "corrupt officials" only through a moment of indiscretion. Thus he shifted the responsibility for the oppression and exploitation of the people entirely onto several corrupt officials in order to hoodwink the peasants. Water Margin repeatedly plays up Hui Tsung as "a sacred and enlightened emperor who became temporarily confused only due to deception by evil ministers." Moreover, through the mouth of Sung Chiang, peasant uprisings were denounced as "towering crimes." Thus it sings the same tune as Chao K'uang-i. The author of Water Martin was born in the last years of the Yuan Dynasty, years in which class and national contradictions were intensified and peasant uprisings arose like storms. In propagating opposition to only corrupt officials and not the emperor, he did nothing more than to spread the illusions toward the emperor and "honest officials," to benumb the revolutionary will of the insurgent peasants, and to abolish the peasant struggles to seize political power.

In doing all this, he proceeded entirely from the stand of protecting the reactionary feudal rule.

To advertise capitulationism and opposition to only corrupt officials and not the emperor, Water Margin evades the contradiction between the peasants and the emperor, and this too is incompatible with historical reality at that time. The Liangshan peasant uprising was obviously armed resistance against the Sung court's order to nationalize Liangshan Po and force the fishermen to "pay boat taxes." But Water Margin makes no mention of this, nor does it refer to the revolutionary peasants' claim on their land. In "Anecdotes in the Hsuan Ho Period," 12 of the 36 people at Liangshan were connected with the Huashihkang incident, but little mention of this was made by the author of Water Margin because the incident resulted directly from Chao Chi's tyranny. On the other hand, the novel regards Sung Chiang and Kao Ch'iu as a pair of opposites, playing up the contradiction and struggle between the two, and even goes so far as to call Kao Ch'iu and his associates the "chief culprits," the principal enemies of the Liangshan insurgent army. In fact, this was a trick to cover up the true facts, so that, through bringing the struggle between Sung and Kao to the fore, Sung was dressed up as a hero of peasant uprisings and his essence as a capitulationist was concealed. Chairman Mao points out: "The struggle waged by Sung Chiang against Kao Ch'iu was a struggle waged by one faction against another within the landlord class." Be it Sung or Kao, they were the deadly enemies of the insurgent peasants, the faithful running dogs of the real chief culprit Chao Chi. Sung was no different from Kao insofar as protecting the basic interests of the landlord class with the emperor as its chieftain was concerned. However, because Sung sneaked into the peasant insurgent ranks and made counter-revolutionary deals disguised as a revolutionary, he was more deceptive and played a disruptive role that Kao could not play.

In history, many peasant insurgent forces were rent internally by a fierce line struggle between capitulation and counter-capitulation. This was a reflection within the insurgent army of the struggle between two major opposing classes, the landlord class and the peasantry. The feudal rulers dealt with the peasant uprisings by resorting to counter-revolutionary dual tactics, that is, brutal armed suppression and sinister political deception (including offer of amnesty and enlistment). This was the external cause for the appearance of the capitulationist line within the insurgent forces. On the other hand, the insurgent forces were infiltrated by agents of the landlord class or produced turncoats as a result of bribery by the landlord class, and this was the internal cause for the emergence of the capitulationist line.

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." In the course of peasant wars, the revolution could develop and win victories only when the revolutionaries stuck to the uprising line and, fearing no violence, fought bloody battles. If capitulationists were allowed to usurp the leadership of the uprising, the uprising would abort. This was well proved by the peasant uprisings in the last years of Northern Sung. Fang La started his uprising in October 1120 (the 2nd year of Hsuan Ho in the reign of Sung Hui Tsung). In a short span of 2-3 months his forces swept across six prefectures and 52 counties south of the Yangtze River, developing to a total length of several hundred thousand

men. This created a favorable situation in which they and the Liangshan insurgent army which "ran amuck in Ch'i and Wei" could form a joint, two-pronged attack against the Northern Sung court. The rapid development of the revolution was precisely the result of Fang La's persisting in the uprising line, putting forward a clearcut program for overthrowing the Northern Sung Dynasty and extensively mobilizing the masses. In contrast, the Liangshan insurgent army in Water Margin, after its two defeats of T'ung Kuan and three defeats of Kao Ch'iu, was indeed faced with an excellent situation, but because the capitulationist Sung Chiang usurped the leading position and practiced revisionism, the result was that it surrendered to Chao Chi and then set out to fight Fang La. Consequently, the insurgent army was quickly destroyed and Sung himself met his ignominious end by being poisoned to death in the same way as "the dog was boiled after the rabbit was caught." This painful lesson of the defeat of the Liangshan insurgent army deserves to be forever remembered by all revolutionary people.

The author of Water Margin embellishes the capitulationist Sung Chiang as a hero, and arranges for him an ideal end of his life--"a man's ambition was fulfilled when he lived heroically and died being made a marquis." The aim is to induce all revolutionary people to follow Sung and take the road of a lackey. However, Water Margin takes a different attitude toward Ch'ao Kai, who "aspires to be a king" and is "a sworn enemy of the great Sung emperor," lets him "die early," excludes him from the 108 people, thereby showing that capitulation is the only way out for peasant uprisings. In fact, Sung and Ch'ao represent two different lines of two different classes. Ch'ao is the leader of the insurgent peasants, his "chü-i" is a call on peasants to rebel against the emperor, and he sticks to the line of peasant uprisings.

In order to advertise the capitulationist line, Water Margin also viciously tarnishes the images of the anti-capitulationists within the Liangshan insurgent army. It says that Li K'uei, the three Juan brothers and other anti-capitulationist heroes cannot after all entirely free themselves from Sung's erroneous leadership. In history there were many peasant revolution heroes who fought against capitulationists. For example, let us take Huang Ch'ao, who led a peasant uprising toward the end of the T'ang period. When he angrily denounced, in the presence of all, the shameless traitorous act of another peasant uprising leader Wang Hsien-chih for the latter's decision to accept the offer of amnesty and enlistment from the T'ang court, he determinedly broke with Wang and led the main force of the insurgent army to fight in the south and in the north, thereby enabling the revolution to continue to win major victories. In the early years of Southern Sung, Yang Mo started an uprising in the Tungting Lake region. Many times he firmly rejected the inducements by the Sung court and the puppet Liu Yü regime of Ch'i to surrender. When some people of the insurgent army wavered, Yang resolutely resisted the evil wind of capitulation and fought bravely. When he was captured, he died heroically. These heroes who resolutely opposed capitulation represented the glorious revolutionary tradition of peasant uprisings in our country, demonstrating as they did the heroic spirit--"I would die standing up rather than live on my knees." Why did the author of Water Margin shun the hundreds of peasant uprisings which performed soul-searching and heart-stirring deeds of defying the threat of death and

persevering in struggle? Why did he take the capitulationist Sung Chiang as the central character of the whole book and embellish him as a hero of insurgent peasants in an attempt to lead the revolutionary peasants to Sung's road? Wasn't this clear proof of propagating capitulationism in Water Margin?

In Chinese history, "every relatively large peasant uprising or peasant war invariably resulted in hitting at the feudal rule at the time and hence more or less pushed the development of the social productive forces," and thus became a motive force of historical development in feudal society. Because at that time there were no new productive forces or new relations of production, no new class forces or advanced political parties, peasant wars invariably ended in failure. However, failure did not mean capitulation. In history the great majority of peasant uprisings fought with the feudal rulers to the end, and this was true with the three large peasant uprisings in the Sung Dynasty. Fang La, a contemporary of Sung Chiang, pointed his accusing finger at Chao Chi's "amnesty" fraud and led his men, numbering several tens of thousands, to hold the Pangyuantung base and fight valiantly. Finally he laid down his life and wrote with his blood a heroic chapter. How can it be true, as some people say, that capitulation is the "law" of peasant uprisings? "No capitulationist commands popular support." The revolutionary peasants were firmly against capitulation, opposing not only class capitulationism but also national capitulationism. Yang Mo and Fang La were typical examples. Speaking at a mass rally, Fang La indignantly condemned not only feudal exploitation but also the criminal acts of the Sung court in delivering the wealth created by the toiling people to the Liao and Hsia rulers. This was a splendid expression of revolutionary peasants' patriotism. Frightened by the great might of the revolutionary people, the revisionists have gone all out to slander the peasants and obliterate their revolutionary character. Lin Piao villified the peasants by saying that they knew only how to farm and thought of nothing but edible oil, salt, firewood and rice. Scholars in the pay of the Soviet revisionists refuse to recognize that there were peasant revolutions in Chinese history, and they are jackals of the same lair with the author of Water Margin.

In our criticism of Water Margin, we must combine our study of class struggle in history with that of current class struggle, so that through our analysis of the ancient capitulationist Sung Chiang we may see more clearly the ugly faces of the modern capitulationists Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. We must give full play to the role of Water Margin as a teaching material by negative example so that all people will know what capitalists look like and further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist system in our country. We historical science workers must repeatedly study and deeply comprehend Chairman Mao's instructions, positively plunge into combat, criticize revisionism and capitulationism, and carry through to the end the struggle in which the proletariat will defeat the bourgeoisie in the realm of the superstructure!

* * *

To Advocate Capitulation Is To Distort Peasant Revolution

by

Water Margin Commentators Group of Houchi Brigade, Liangshan County, Shantung

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 10, Oct. 1, 1975)

Our brigade is situated at the foot of the Liangshan Mountain. In ancient days, Liangshan was surrounded by a huge lake. Legend has it that Liangshan Po in Water Margin refers to this location.

As in other places, numerous peasant uprisings erupted here in the prolonged feudal society. However, Water Margin, described by some as "an epic of peasant revolution," fails to reflect correctly those peasant uprisings and peasant revolutionary wars. Recently, Chairman Mao pointed out incisively: "The merit of the book Water Margin lies precisely in the portrayal of capitulation. It serves as teaching material by negative example to help all people recognize capitulationists." The poor and lower-middle peasants and other commune members in our brigade have, in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions, unfolded heated discussion on and criticism of this novel. All of us have further realized that by doing its best to extol capitulationists and advocating class capitulationism, Water Margin willfully tampers with the glorious history of peasant uprisings and considerably distorts peasant revolutionary wars.

One may see from Water Margin that many went to Liangshan either because they lost all their money at the gambling den or failed in their business or because they wanted to become government officials to "leave honor to their offspring." Others, large in number, did so for personal reasons--to repay personal favors or to seek revenge. Such descriptions cater fully to the needs of the landlord class and cover up the real causes behind peasant uprisings and peasant revolutionary wars.

Why did peasants want to rebel and struggle? There are profound class reasons. Chairman Mao points out: "The ruthless economic exploitation and political oppression of the peasants by the landlord class forced them into numerous uprisings against its rule." Such was the basic cause behind the numerous peasant uprisings in Chinese history, including the Liangshan peasant uprising.

In the old society, the masses of people in the Liangshan area always lived in utter privation. In the final years of Northern Sung, the Sung court took over Liangshan Po as "public land" and forced the people to pay taxes on their catches from the lake. With the gradual decline of the feudal landlord class, the burdens imposed the laboring people became ever more unbearable. There were exorbitant taxes and miscellaneous levies. Taxes had to be paid on raising chicken, using the road, crossing the river by boat and childbirths. People said that they had to pay "a hundred kinds of taxes," but in fact there were more than a hundred! By the last years of the Ch'ing Dynasty, for tilling a mow of land, people had to pay in rent and tax nine strings of coins, equivalent to 90 catties of wheat. But at that time a mow of land could yield no more than 60-70 catties, not enough

to pay rent and tax. "In Tungp'ing prefecture, the crops failed nine years out of ten." The situation was even more tragic in a year of natural calamities! During the reign of Kuang Hsü, there was a serious flood here, but the government insisted on collecting all the taxes as usual without any relief. Spread among the people at that time was a ballad that read: "Hard is the life of peasants. Yet officials press them to pay rent. Unable to pay up because of poor crops, they gnash their teeth and sell their children." At that time our village had over 600 persons. More than 50 died of cold and hunger. Many took to the road of rebellion. This shows that peasant uprisings and peasant wars were caused entirely by oppression by the feudal landlord class; nowhere were they caused by "gambling losses" or "business failure." Peasant uprisings were the logical outcome of the contradiction and struggle between the peasantry and the landlord class, definitely not caused by personal rivalries. As we know, the contradiction between the peasantry and the landlord class was the principal contradiction in feudal society. It was precisely the class struggle waged by peasants against the landlords that impelled the development of feudal society. To sum up the life-and-death struggle between the peasants and landlords as personal rivalry is to give expression to the reactionary viewpoint of historical idealism.

Of course, there were people who took to the mountain with despicable motives--to gain a government post, get rich and leave honor to their offspring. For instance, people like Sung Chiang in Water Margin were such characters. They were either members of the landlord class or court officials or unsuccessful candidates in the imperial examinations. Their demands and aspirations were indeed identical with the interests of the landlord class. These people were nothing more than representatives of the landlord class who wormed their way into the ranks of the peasant insurgents. The contradiction between such people as Sung Chiang and Kao Ch'iu and his like was a contradiction within the landlord class. Sung Chiang and his company never thought of staging any peasant uprising when they went to the mountain.

By lauding to the skies Sung Chiang's capitulationist line of opposing only corrupt officials but not the emperor and by taking "carrying out Heaven's wish," namely, serving the feudal emperor, as the aim of the peasant insurgent army, Water Margin also ignores the historical facts of China's peasant revolutions. The facts of the peasant revolution in our Liangshan also fully testify to this. In the last years of the Ming Dynasty, a peasant uprising broke out here. The insurgents clearly raised the slogans--"Smash the court, and there will be no poverty," "Remove the gap between rich and poor, and there will be no suffering." These were taken as the political program for opposing the feudal system. Not only the insurgent army but also the poor peasants who did not join the insurgent army deeply hated the decadent feudal emperor. When the Nien Army and the Black-Banner Army passed through here, the broad masses of poor peasants in Liangshan enthusiastically joined and supported the insurgent forces, and fought a bloody battle with the crack troops of the Ch'ing Dynasty led by Tseng-ko-lin-ch'in, badly battering them. At that time there was a ballad that said: "I was born on the reed beach, and I fear neither the emperor nor

officials." This ballad conveyed the militant spirit of the peasants against the landlord class and its chieftain the emperor. According to records, during the years of Hsien Feng in the Ch'ing Dynasty alone, peasant riots led by Man Kuang-yin, Hsi Wan-lin and Tung Tseng-ch'i broke out in Liangshan and its vicinity inflicting heavy casulties on the reactionary army and killing the deputy commander Shu Ming-an, thereby dealing feudal rule a heavy blow.

The emperor was the chief representative of the landlord class, and the biggest landlord. Under his wing, there was no official of the landlord class who was not corrupt, and all of them acted on his will and suppressed and exploited the masses of the people. Since peasant uprisings and peasant wars were class struggles waged by the peasantry against the landlord class, then peasant revolutions were definitely not directed at only a number of bureaucrats but at the feudal emperor and the landlord class as a whole. "For each of the major peasant uprisings and wars dealt a blow to the feudal regime of the time and hence more or less furthered the growth of the social productive forces." If, like Water Margin said, peasant uprisings opposed only corrupt officials but not the emperor, would not peasant uprisings and peasant wars assist the emperor in safeguarding and consolidating his ruling position? Such fallacies were long ago crushed by such slogans of the peasant revolution as "Do princes and dukes, generals and ministers belong to a special species?" and "This dynasty has fallen, it's time I established my own," along with the fact that in history reactionary dynasties fell one by one under the blow of peasant uprisings.

Another gross distortion of peasant revolutions by Water Margin is to regard acceptance of the offer of amnesty and enlistment as the inevitable outcome of peasant uprisings. The contradiction between the peasantry and the landlord class is antagonistic and irreconcilable. Any attempt at reconciliation is futile. In the past, Liangshan was a place where peasant uprisings erupted one after another. The feudal rulers repeatedly cried out in alarm that "Liangshan is infested with bandits," "a place of rebels for a long time." The landlord class and the feudal emperor always viewed peasant uprisings as deluges or wild beasts, and wanted to exterminate them all at once. In the last years of Northern Sung, the ruling class brutally suppressed the Liangshan insurgents, and according to their admission, "countless" were killed. The Ch'ing court set up a "Liangshan Camp" here and guarded it with heavy troops. This camp was located right in our Houchi village. However, armed suppression by the landlord class could only arouse the peasantry to greater resistance. When the Nien Army started its uprising, a hero of the peasant forces called Hu Ssu led the insurgent army to beat back several attacks by the Ch'ing troops in the Liangshan area. When he was captured, he did not bow to the threat of the reactionaries to cut him into pieces and died a martyr. Such heroic deeds of Hu Ssu and others fully show that accepting the offer of amnesty and enlistment is surely not the inevitable outcome of real peasant uprisings.

The policy of offering amnesty and enlistment was a reactionary policy adopted by the landlord class to exterminate the peasant uprisings; it supplemented armed suppression. In Water Margin Sung Chiang accepted amnesty and enlistment, practiced capitulation, and went to attack other peasant insurgent armies, filling the role of running dog of the landlord

class. He was but an internal collaborator of the landlord class and renegade who wormed himself into the ranks of the peasant insurgents. His ignominious end has nothing in common with the heroical struggle of the peasant revolutionary army. The peasant class, as an oppressed class, would never surrender to the landlord class. Some people who ascribed the capitulationist line advocated by Water Margin to the "class limitations" of the peasantry did so to negate the anti-feudal, revolutionary character of peasant wars and vilify the peasant revolution. Failure after unyielding struggle is basically different from capitulation for gaining public office and wealth, and the two must under no circumstances be confused. By regarding the acceptance of amnesty and enlistment as the final outcome of peasant uprisings and proclaiming that making revolution is unjustifiable while capitulation is glorious Water Margin wants the oppressed laboring people to lay down their arms and throw themselves at the feet of the exploiting class. What a fond dream of the landlord class!

Owing to the absence of an advanced class to lead them, the numerous peasant uprisings in history failed. Only the vanguard of the working class--the Chinese Communist Party, only the great leader Chairman Mao with his revolutionary line can lead and guide us laboring people to advance from victory to victory. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party, the Chinese people overthrew the rule of the landlord-bourgeois classes. The laboring people have become masters. The socialist cause is developing day by day. Under the socialist system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we the Liangshan people are leading a particularly happy life. But the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism will still exist for a long time. The bourgeoisie is always seeking out its agents from among our revolutionary ranks. Therefore, it is imperative for us to raise our class consciousness and analytical ability, to be good at discerning revisionists who penetrate our revolutionary ranks as well as class and national capitulationists. Insomuch as it helps people recognize capitulationists and capitulationism, Water Margin indeed is a very valuable piece of teaching material by negative example. We must make good use of it and, through discussion and criticism, repudiate the erroneous viewpoints involved in the studies of Water Margin, draw a line of principle between the revolutionary and the capitulationist line, fully expose the ugly features of the ancient capitulationist Sung Chiang and the modern capitulationists Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, and carry the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end.

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Why Does Water Margin Exclude Ch'ao Kai from the 108 People?

by

Ch'en Ta-k'ang (陈大康), worker of P'engp'u Machinery Plant, Shanghai

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In the chapter "The Seating Order for Liangshan Heroes," Water Margin makes use of the "stone tablet bearing the mandate of Heaven" to promulgate the namelist of the 108 Liangshan leaders. This list does not carry the name of Ch'ao Kai, founder of the Liangshan revolutionary cause.

Can one explain this omission with the fact this namelist was published after Ch'ao's death? No. Take the famous T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo revolution for example. Although the Southern Prince Feng Yün-shan and the Western Prince Hsiao Ch'ao-kuei died in action during the early period of the revolution, the "list of princes" later published by the T'aip'ing Kingdom still carried their names to show reverence and remembrance for their dead leaders. In the play "Anecdotes in the Hsüan Ho Period of Great Sung," forerunner of Water Margin, its namelist of Liangshan heroes (38 at that time) based on that released through the "Mandate of Heaven" also carried Ch'ao's name in spite of his death. Water Margin, however, took a different course. Apart from excluding Ch'ao Kai from the 108 people on the list promulgated on the "stone tablet bearing the mandate of Heaven" in Chapter 71, in its final chapter it carefully cooked up the following plot: Sung Hui Tsung "personally wrote an edict" ordering Chichou to build a "Temple of Pacification and Loyalty" in Sung Chiang's honor. In the temple "the clay figures of 36 Generals from Heaven including Sung Kung-ming" and "the clay figures of 72 Generals from the Earth headed by Chu Wu" were to be put up. As to Ch'ao Kai, no mention was made. Both the author and the emperor believed that he had no right to be "worshipped for ten thousand years." It can be seen that excluding Ch'ao from the 108 people was the author's intention throughout the book.

Why must Water Margin exclude Ch'ao Kai from the 108 people? The author explains this in Chapter 71: "Ch'ao Kai aspired to become a king and died early; only Sung Chiang was ready to appeal to the multitudes to defend justice and reigned over the stronghold as its leader."

What does it mean by "aspiring to become a king"? In feudal society, it meant challenging the entire feudal system and the feudal landlord class. One who "aspires to become a king" must establish a peasant regime to fight the feudal political power and direct the spearhead of struggle at the emperor. In the words of Chu Kuei, "we must fight the Sung emperor," and in the words of Li K'uei, "let's charge toward Tungching and seize the damn throne." Ch'ao's "aspiring to become a king" reflects the will and wishes of the revolutionaries in the Liangshan peasant insurgent army. For this reason, Water Margin, being against only corrupt officials but not the emperor, not only excludes Ch'ao from the 108 people but wickedly arranges for him to "die early" so that Sung could "reign over the stronghold" as soon as possible.

Sung's "appeal to the multitudes to defend justice" is the very opposite of what Ch'ao stands for. His "appeal to the multitudes" actually means recruiting deserters and renegades at Liangshan, rigging up his faction to lay the groundwork for his later accepting amnesty and enlistment. His "defense of justice" means going against only corrupt officials but not the emperor and his wish to be a lackey loyal to the feudal court. Accordingly, Ch'ao's "aspiring to become a king" and Sung's "appealing to the multitudes to defend justice" represent two different lines. Ch'ao's line is a revolutionary line persisting in struggle, that of Sung a capitulationist line advocating amnesty and enlistment.

Sung as a sinister double-dealer is a master of disguise. When Ch'ao was still alive, he always addressed Ch'ao "elder brother" and "Ch'ao the Heavenly King." But in practical action he excluded Ch'ao Kai on every occasion, lied to Ch'ao, and organized within the Liangshan peasant army a capitulationist clique made up of reactionary military officers and big landlords. The moment Ch'ao died, he completely revised Ch'ao's revolutionary line, had Ch'ao's Chü-i T'ing re-named Chung-i T'ang, and openly unfurled the capitulationist banner of "carrying out Heaven's wish." But even then, the cunning Sung still set up in Chung-i T'ang Ch'ao's altar with the tablet reading "Lord Ch'ao, Heavenly King of Liangshan Po." Thus, with double-dealing tactics, he cheated and gained the confidence of leaders who supported Ch'ao's revolutionary line. Just as Lenin said, when leaders of the revolution died, the reactionary class would "turn them into harmless gods, have them idolized, so to speak, and their names so honored as to 'console' and fool the oppressed class, while at the same time castrating the content of revolutionary theory, blunting its revolutionary brilliance and having it vulgarized." Once capitulation paid off, Sung also exposed his hideous features, not only "destroying all" houses at the Liangshan base area but also "burning" Ch'ao's tablet.

Chairman Mao points out: "The merit of the book Water Margin lies precisely in the portrayal of capitulation. It serves as teaching material by negative example to help all people recognize capitulationists." He adds: "Water Margin is against corrupt officials only, but not against the emperor. It excludes Ch'ao Kai from the 108 people." Chairman Mao's instruction penetratingly exposes the essence of Water Margin in preaching a capitulationist line. From the ancient capitulationist Sung can be found the characteristics of the modern capitulationists Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. For that matter, we must find out the real motive of Water Margin in excluding Ch'ao from the 108 people, and see through the double-dealing features of Sung and his like. This will be very beneficial to us in developing our ability to distinguish between real and sham Marxism as well as between revolutionaries and capitulationists.

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Strengthen Building of Leading Groups

by

Shih P'ing (石平)

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Chairman Mao teaches us: "Cadres are a decisive factor, once the political line is determined." Chairman Mao's instruction profoundly shows the vital role of the cadres in the implementation of the Party's political line and the importance of building a firm and powerful leading group.

After the great proletariat cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Confucius and Lin Piao in which the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao was deeply criticized, leading groups at various levels stepped up their own ideological and organizational building. The movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is yet another driving force to the building of leading groups at all levels. At present, members of many leading groups, particularly the top and No. 2 leaders, are taking the lead in studying theory, in carrying out investigations and research, in linking practice with solution of contradictions, and they have completely renewed their mentality. The leading groups of many regions and units firmly carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, take the overall situation into consideration and pay attention to the Party spirit. United in struggle, they are playing a leading role in all fields of work. This constitutes an important factor for our continuous victories in socialist revolution and construction. Ever-deepening development of the socialist revolution has also placed higher demands on the leading groups. Therefore, leading groups at all levels should regard their own building as a regular task to be grasped with effort.

Leading groups at all levels are the Party's concrete leaders and organizers in various areas and units; they are command posts at various levels in the struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. It is through the leading groups at all levels that our Party integrates its political line with the concrete practice of various areas and units, formulates specific policies and methods of work, and carries out appropriate organization and effective leadership among the broad masses, so that its political line can be consistently implemented. Without a firm and powerful leading group, it will be possible neither to effectively carry out the Party's political line nor fully develop and sustain the initiative of the masses. Throughout the entire historical stage of socialism, there is still a struggle between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the two roads, the socialist and capitalist, and between the two lines, Marxist and revisionist. In carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we are bound to encounter sabotage by class enemies and interference from the revisionist line and erroneous thoughts. It will be impossible to properly implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and very difficult to carry out the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat at the grassroots level without a firm and powerful leading group with a high consciousness of line struggle and capable of maintaining

close ties with the masses and uniting them in struggle, a leading group that will organize and lead the masses and is good at concentrating the correct opinions of the broad masses and overcoming certain incorrect opinions among them and surmounting all sorts of resistance and interference.

China's socialist revolution and construction are continuing to develop in depth. In order to consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, there is a great deal to be done both in the superstructure and the economic basis, both in adjusting the relations of production and in developing the productive forces. The struggle is complicated, the tasks are arduous. The experience of various places tells us that wherever there is a leading body that is really united, is closely tied to the masses, resolutely guides the masses to act on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and firmly opposes revisionism, and can carry out the Party's policies as well as discerning and resisting erroneous things, there the socialist revolution will develop step by step on a sound basis and the mass movements to learn from Tach'ing in industry and Tachai in agriculture will thrive. On the contrary, if a leading group fails to do this, both revolution and production will lag behind. Just as Chairman Mao points out, "One of the basic reasons why many places and organs fail to push ahead their work is that they lack a consistently sound leading body that is united and tied to the masses." With a view to better implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, carrying on the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism, and doing well in socialist revolution and construction, leading groups at all levels must further strengthen their own ideological and organizational building in the course of the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, so as to become real command posts leading the proletariat and the broad masses of people to fight the bourgeoisie.

In the article "Introducing the 'Communist'," Chairman Mao points out that the building of our Party is "closely related to the Party's political line." This is Chairman Mao's scientific summing-up of our Party building, and also a valuable experience for the building of our leading groups. "The line is the key link; once it is grasped, everything falls into place." To intensify the building of leading groups, the most fundamental thing to do is to correct the line of the leading groups with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line as the key link. The principles "Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire," as set forth by Chairman Mao, are meant for the whole Party, first of all leading groups at all levels. The most basic of these three principles is to practice Marxism and not revisionism. Whether leading groups at all levels can effectively lead the masses to carry out socialist revolution and construction, struggle against class enemies, capitalism and all anti-socialist tendencies, and to win and move forward is dependent upon whether they can persist in the Marxist line and criticize the revisionist line. For this reason, our leading groups at all levels should, through studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship, further raise their consciousness of implementing Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. This is the most basic issue in intensifying the building of leading groups.

Leading groups at all levels must be united collectives themselves if they are to develop their forceful leading functions in their own areas and departments. After the great proletariat cultural revolution and the

movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and having criticized the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, leading groups at all levels have become more united than ever, but such unity still has to be further consolidated and strengthened. In the article "On Strengthening the Party Committee System," Chairman Mao criticizes the phenomenon in which "Party committee members are united only in form, but not in essence." Moreover, he points out: "This situation must be changed." This teaching of Chairman Mao's still has an extremely vital significance today. In order to lead the broad masses more effectively to fight the bourgeoisie and revisionism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, comrades joining the leading groups at all levels must never for a moment forget the heavy responsibility entrusted to them by the Party and people; they must enhance their proletarian Party spirit, overcome bourgeois factionalism, subordinate personal interests to those of the whole Party, unceasingly strengthen their unity on the basis of Mao Tsetung Thought, so as to twist "the squad" into a single rope and achieve unity not in form but in essence. To achieve essential unity in the true sense of the word, they must earnestly enforce the Party's principle of democratic centralism. All major problems must go through collective discussion and clear decisions made on the basis of fully promoting democracy. Resolutions adopted through collective discussion should be carried out thoroughly. It is impermissible to say one thing and do another. Any differences of opinion among leading members should be put on the table, so that contradictions may be fully revealed and then analyzed and discussed from the Marxist viewpoint, correct things may be affirmed and promoted and wrong things clarified and overcome. In this way mutual estrangement may be removed. Principal members of leading groups should not only be able to unite with those who agree with them, but also be good at uniting with those who disagree with them. Only thus will there be real unity and true revolutionary solidarity within leading groups.

Leading groups at all levels set up during the great proletarian cultural revolution have generally put into practice the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young. This is a measure of strategic significance to building leading groups. Our Party's ultimate goal is to liberate the whole of mankind and realize communism. This great cause cannot be accomplished in one or two generations. "If our Party does not have a great many new cadres working in unity and cooperation with the old cadres, our cause will come to a stop." Considering the long-range interests of the proletariat, we must permanently uphold the principle of three-in-one in combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young in accordance with Chairman Mao's five conditions for successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause. Tempered through many years of revolutionary war and struggle, the old cadres are relatively rich in practical experience. Proceeding from the needs of the proletarian revolutionary cause and with a high sense of revolutionary responsibility, many old cadres undertake to educate young cadres with the historical experience of the two-line struggle and revolutionary traditions, thus making it sure that there will be successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause. Many young cadres learn modestly, taking over the good experience and good workstyle of the old generation and endeavoring to become good successors to the revolution. Meanwhile, the revolutionary enthusiasm and vigorous spirit of young cadres in firmly adhering to the socialist road as well as their sensitivity to new things have also greatly inspired the old cadres to work harder for the Party and the

people. In short, the three-in-one combination has helped develop the revolutionary, comradely relations, carry forward the fine tradition of the Party, strengthen Party unity and greatly enhance the combat capacity of the leading groups. We should continue to stick to the three-in-one principle, so that all cadres, whether old, middle-aged or young, will "respect each other, learn from each other and overcome their own shortcomings by learning from each other's strong points, so as to unite as one in carrying out the common cause."

Studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship has enabled many comrades to further understand that promoting the Party's fine tradition, preserving the style of plain living and hard work and keeping in close touch with the masses are immensely important to strengthening the building of leading groups. Chairman Mao says: "Without the workstyle of arduous struggle, it is impossible to adhere to a firm and correct political orientation." Over the past decades, many of our leading cadres have always preserved the fine style of plain living and hard work, and have established flesh-and-blood relations with the masses. This has greatly influenced the leading groups at all levels in keeping to a correct political direction. But it must also be recognized that the socialist society still bears the birthmarks of the old society economically, morally and intellectually, that the commodity system, exchange through money, the idea of bourgeois rights and bourgeois style of life are constantly eroding and invading people's minds. Our Party is the ruling party, and our struggle has won one victory after another. Both working and living conditions have improved considerably compared with those during the war years. Under such circumstances, it becomes even more imperative for our leading groups at all levels to reject the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology, promote the workstyle of plain living and hard struggle, and "preserve the same vigor, the same revolutionary enthusiasm and the same daring death-defying spirit we displayed in the years of revolutionary war period." We must keep in close tough with the masses and, "instead of lording it over the masses, mix with them." We must carefully listen to the opinions of the masses, learn modestly from them and draw political nourishment from them. Cadres must persist in the system of taking part in collective productive labor and regard this as a prime task of combating and preventing revisionism. Only such leading groups can gain the support and confidence of the masses and lead them to fight tough battles in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, production struggle and scientific experiment. Once we lose the style of arduous struggle, become arrogant, indolent, bureaucratic, extravagant and lazy, relish and extend bourgeois rights, even use our positions to seek special privileges, and, as Chairman Mao criticized some people, "regard ourselves as masters of the masses or aristocrats high above the 'low-class people'," then we will surely divorce ourselves from the masses and will not be able to stick to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line nor persist in the political direction of having Marxism defeat revisionism and socialism defeat capitalism and eventually realizing communism. We may even degenerate. Thus, in building leading groups at all levels, we ought to attach importance to promoting the Party's style of plain living and hard struggle and to keeping close to the masses.

Since the beginning of the movement to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, leading groups in many places and units have gained relatively good results in seriously studying theory and in carrying out ideological and organizational building in light of the practical problems facing leading groups. We should seriously sum up the experience in this respect, regard the ideological and organizational building of leading groups as an important aspect of linking theory with practice and, on the basis of a deeper study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship, make our leading groups at all levels still stronger.

* * *

Develop the Excellent Situation of Stability and Unity

by

Pa Shan (巴山)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 10, Oct. 1, 1975)

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the Chinese People's Republic has victoriously covered a militant course of 26 years. Filled with revolutionary exuberance, the people of various nationalities across the land are joyously celebrating this red-letter day.

The movement to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, personally led by Chairman Mao, has further raised the consciousness of the people in their millions in combating and preventing revisionism. It has promoted nationwide stability and unity and pushed socialist revolution and construction forward. Our socialist motherland under the dictatorship of the proletariat is thriving, with signs of prosperity evident everywhere. This excellent situation is inspiring the broad masses and cadres with the lofty ambition to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and at the same time places ever higher demands on various fronts and fields of work. We must sum up our experience, press ahead with victory, seriously carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, permanently persist in studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship, combat and prevent revisionism, consolidate the proletarian dictatorship, develop the excellent situation of stability and unity, and speed up the tempo of socialist construction.

Studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship, combating and preventing revisionism, promoting stability and unity and developing the national economy--this is what the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole nation are doing in accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction. These several aspects are inter-related. Stability and unity are built on the basis of studying theory, paying attention to line, and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat; they are also an important condition for victoriously carrying out the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism and accelerating socialist construction. We must view stability and unity from the plane of combating and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results, recognize their vital significance, and consciously strive to promote stability and unity.

The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything. Adhering to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is a fundamental guarantee for consolidating and developing the excellent situation of stability and unity. This has been repeatedly confirmed by numerous facts. Some areas and units for a time did not have sufficient stability and unity basically because they did not properly implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line or fulfill the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat at the grassroots level. Through studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship, both cadres and the masses in these areas and units saw the need to impose all-round dictatorship over the

bourgeoisie, further comprehended the basic line of the Party, and criticized in depth both revisionism and capitalism on the basis of integrating theory and practice. They have united under the great goal of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and in the common fight against the enemies. They grappled with things harmful to stability and unity. In no time a fine situation of stability and unity appeared, pushing revolution and production forward. This shows that to bring about stability and unity, it is necessary to use the correct theory and line as the guide, because it is only when theory is studied deeply and the line clearly distinguished that stability and unity can be properly forged. In developing the excellent situation of stability and unity, we must therefore act on the three basic principles enunciated by Chairman Mao, namely, "practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire." We must conscientiously study Marxism and profoundly criticize revisionism in close conjunction with actual class and two-line struggles. We must sum up both positive and negative experience and further raise our consciousness of implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

To promote stability and unity on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we must fully rely on the masses and be good at doing propaganda among and organizing and fully mobilizing the masses with the directives of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee so as to create a powerful revolutionary situation in which everybody takes part in discussing the line, the overall situation, the Party spirit, unity and discipline. Chairman Mao has all along impressed on us the necessity of making the Party's line, principles and policies known to the masses as rapidly and as widely as possible. We cannot rely on a few to do work quietly. "Once the masses know the truth and have a common aim, they will work together with one heart." "When the masses are of one heart, everything becomes easy." Stability and unity are an important aspect of implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and conform to the basic interests and common aspirations of the vast masses of people. Hand the directives of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee to the masses, and they will become a powerful force promoting stability and unity, the socialist spirit of uprightness will rise and the capitalist evil wind will decline, a small handful of class enemies will be isolated and their sabotage activities heavily hit. Only when there is a solid mass foundation will stability and unity prove reliable and be consolidated and developed.

Party committees at various levels are command headquarters leading and uniting the broad masses to carry out revolution and construction. Whether the leading body has a correct line and is itself united holds the key to the attainment of stability and unity. When we have a combat headquarters which dares to adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies, we will be able to lead the masses to fight for the promotion of stability and unity. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, and the movement to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, Party organizations at various levels have been tempered and grown stronger and more vigorous. Most of the leading groups are good and have fighting capacity. However, we should see that Party organizations do not exist in a vacuum but in an environment of complex

class struggle. Class struggle in society and the various sorts of non-proletarian political dust will naturally corrode the leading groups. This requires us to strengthen the revolutionization of leading groups in struggle, so that leadership is really in the hands of Marxists. In accordance with the conditions for bringing up successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause and the principle of three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young, as set by Chairman Mao, we must strengthen the leading groups at various levels while giving the main emphasis to carrying out education in ideology and the political line, so that on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the revolutionary unity of the "squad" can be properly forged. As for leading groups which conscientiously implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and comrades who boldly assume responsibility in work and try hard to work in accordance with the Party's line, principles and policies, they should be supported and helped by the higher leading organs. Those who work boldly and with a free hand may also make mistakes, but it will be all right when mistakes are corrected. Higher leading organs have the responsibility to assist them in summing up experience, rectifying their mistakes, and working well. There has never been an all-conquering general in the world. Our Party has fought several decades of war, and it has this experience: when a battle is won, sound the alarm to prevent arrogance and complacency; and when a battle is lost, the leadership must not blame the subordinates but assume the responsibility. This is an indispensable condition for stepping up the building of leading groups and promoting stability and unity.

"Between the opposites in a contradiction, there is at once unity and struggle, and it is this that impels things to move and change." This is the dialectical law governing the development of things. The political situation of stability and unity is realized in struggle and can only be consolidated and developed through struggle. While the proletariat and the working people want stability and unity, class enemies at home and abroad always try to create confusion, sow seeds of discord and spread rumors in order to fish in troubled waters and take the opportunity to carry out counter-revolutionary sabotage. We must enhance the concept of class struggle, heighten our revolutionary vigilance, and hit out at all criminal activities of class enemies. Owing to the existence of classes and class struggle and of the influence of bourgeois ideology under the condition of proletarian dictatorship, certain factors harmful to stability and unity may also appear among the people. Such things as bourgeois factionalism and the bourgeois lifestyle, for instance, are negative factors endangering stability and unity. Because of this, if we are to further achieve stability and unity, it is essential to continue eliminating all sorts of interference and work untiringly.

To strictly differentiate and correctly deal with two different types of contradictions--this is a basic policy we must adhere to in promoting stability and unity. Contradictions and problems among the people should be solved in accordance with the formula "unity-criticism-unity," with emphasis on the need to set great store by the general situation and to strength revolutionary unity on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies. As for people guilty of mistakes, it is necessary to enforce the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones,

curing the sickness to save the patient," to work on them patiently, and to help them recognize and correct their mistakes so as to achieve the twofold purpose of clarity of thought and unity of comrades. In this way, we can unite with more than 95 percent of the masses and cadres, deal steady, accurate and harsh blows to a handful of class enemies, and truly fulfill the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat at the grassroots level. To correctly discern and solve contradictions, it is very important for leading organs at various levels to carry out investigations at the grassroots level. If, by means of investigations and study, the actual conditions of one's area and unit are seriously analyzed, good experience in promoting stability and unity is summed up and popularized, negative factors affecting stability and unity are overcome, and problems are solved unit by unit, the excellent situation of stability and unity can be further developed.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Our aim is to create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness, so as to facilitate our socialist revolution and socialist construction, make it easier to overcome difficulties, enable our country to build a modern industry and modern agriculture at a fairly rapid pace, consolidate our Party and state and make them better able to weather storm and stress." Our country is now in a crucial period of historical development. We must conscientiously study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, adhere to the Party's basic line, continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and further strengthen the close unity between Party and people, between army and government, between army and people and between the various nationalities. We must strive to create the kind of political situation advocated by Chairman Mao, unite together under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, surmount the difficulties and exert ourselves to build China into a strong modern socialist state before the end of the present century.

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What Standard Should Be Applied to Students?

by

Party Branch of Penchi Middle School, Shanghai Municipality

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 10, Oct. 1, 1975)

On June 3 this year, K'ung Hsien-feng (孔宪凤), a student of Class 8 going to graduate in 1976 in our school bravely lay down her life while trying to save a school-mate who fell into a river while they were working on a farm. However, such a fine revolutionary young fighter was not invited to join the Red Guard organization while she was alive. This provided food for thought. Over the past months, centering on the question of what standard we should use in evaluating and training students, we seriously studied Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory and the theses of the teachers of revolution concerning the need for a school to become a tool for the dictatorship of the proletariat. We further criticized the revisionist line on education and bourgeois prejudice. As a result, the study movement gradually developed in depth. This period of study has made both teachers and students exert greater revolutionary efforts and strengthen their revolutionary unity. Their mentality has undergone relatively big changes.

Chairman Mao points out: "Our educational policy must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically, and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture." The question of whether we should train students in accordance with the Party's educational policy or require them to strive for higher marks is an important aspect of the two-line struggle in the sphere of education. We never made this question clear in the past. The death of K'ung Hsien-feng has considerably jolted many comrades. However, there are still some who hold that Little K'ung produced only "an ordinary performance" and had "nothing meritorious" while she was alive. These two different views reflect different standards in dealing with the students.

Was K'ung "very good" or did she have "nothing meritorious"? We made this question clear through discussion. Our aim is to train a student into "a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture." K'ung was a fine youth with socialist awareness. She seriously studied the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao, and was resolved to break the chains of the idea of bourgeois rights, to strive to reduce the three major differences. She made up her mind to go to the great Northwest to graze horses. She assiduously studied culture for the revolution, and she dared to criticize and fight wrong things. She never flinched from danger and gave up her life to save others. Such a youth was one of the outstanding representatives of the younger generation growing up under the nourishment of Mao Tsetung Thought.

Why, then, did such a fine youth as Little K'ung have "nothing meritorious"? During a discussion, Mr. Hsin, Little K'ung's class master, told of two incidents which occurred in Little K'ung's life, incidents which greatly enlightened everyone. Early this year, with

profound proletarian feelings for the great leader Chairman Mao, Little K'ung recited Chairman Mao's poem "Sending off the Plague God." After reciting it several times, she felt she did not convey the sentiment of the poem and wanted to go on reciting it. However, Mr. Hsin thought Little K'ung was only after marks, so he said to her: "You've recited it several times already. Stop now and I'll give you a 'credit.' Will that make you happy?" But Little K'ung answered: "I am not after marks." In May this year, Little K'ung's class went to the rural areas to study farming. On her own initiative she asked to be included in the first group and work as a cook. However, Mr. Hsin thought she had a selfish motive and was trying to "show off." When she disagreed with his view, he felt she was "disobedient." This shows that the so-called "nothing meritorious" was actually a reflection of bourgeois prejudice in our teachers' minds.

Lenin pointed out: "Bourgeois prejudice is particularly stubborn in the educational circles." During discussions many teachers came up with a lot of examples to show the harm of such bourgeois prejudice. It was recalled that when the 1974 graduates were being allocated jobs, there was also one student, Little Huang, who was believed to have "nothing meritorious." After studying Chairman Mao's teachings, he firmly asked to go to Heilungkiang to make revolution. Some said to him: "Your two sisters have already gone to mountain and rural areas. You may stay in Shanghai." Little Huang replied: "I am a young man of New China, and I should make contribution to narrowing the three major differences." Some people suspected him of "showing off" and accused him of "singing a high tune." But Little Huang smashed all resistance and finally arrived at the countryside of Heilungkiang to make revolution. Both the heroic deeds of K'ung Hsien-feng and Little Huang's revolutionary action show vividly that a new generation is maturing under the education of the Party. But if our leaders and teachers do not rid their minds of bourgeois prejudice, they will not be able to see the sparkling communist ideas of the young people and may even possibly strangulate these new-born communist shoots.

If we are to adhere to the Party's educational policy and bring up successors to the revolutionary cause, we must insist on placing proletarian politics in command, give the students education on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, develop their communist factors, and help them overcome their shortcomings in order to build up their resistance to the erosion of bourgeois ideas. Under no circumstances should we use simple and rude methods of "rectification." In the past, influenced by the idea of "respecting the teacher's dignity," some comrades always thought that students who lagged behind were not "rectified" sufficiently and punished them at random. Some teachers used to carry a notebook to jot down the mistakes and shortcomings of the students, so old scores might be settled and students rectified. Some punished the students by depriving them of the right to study industry and agriculture. When these methods did not work, they felt students were "difficult to handle" and wanted to wash their hands. The result was to strain the teacher-student relationship.

Over the last two months and more, we studied and propagated the heroic deeds and advanced ideas of K'ung Hsien-feng during the movement to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship. We guided the students to discuss "how one may study, fight and live like K'ung Hsien-feng and make one's youth shine." Learning from a hero and acting like one has produced

a great change in the mentality of the students. Vigorous revolutionary scenes of fighting in unity have appeared everywhere. The idea of serving the people has been considerably promoted, the communist spirit shining everywhere. Students graduating in 1975 whipped up an upsurge in "learning from hero K'ung Hsien-feng and going to the mountain and rural areas to make revolution." More than 150 students pledged to go to the mountain and rural areas. Some relatively backward students searched for their shortcomings, learned from the hero, worked hard and showed remarkable improvement. In the late Little K'ung's class a student called Little K'an used to have some bad habits. We gave him a bad mark. But he thought that since he saw his mistake, he did not deserve such punishment and tore up the notice giving him the bad mark. For this, we gave him another bad mark. During the period of learning agriculture this year, we gave him yet another bad mark on account of his poor showing. This greatly depressed him. However, inspired by Little K'ung's spirit of saving a comrade-in-arms at the risk of her own life, Little K'an dived into the water five times trying to get K'ung above the water. This jolted everybody greatly and changed the teacher's view of him. They encouraged and helped him ardently. After the activity of learning from K'ung Hsien-feng was unfolded, he actively spread the heroic deeds, consciously overcame his bad habits, and exerted himself to study theory and culture and do good things. He made up his mind to go to the mountain and rural areas after graduation. He is now a Red Guard. He said emotionally: "In the past, I used to see cold faces at home and in the school. I was exhorted and punished, and I did things because I was told to do them. Now that everyone is showing concern and educating me, I'll try, like Little K'ung to be a successor to the proletarian revolutionary cause."

The change of Little K'an is but one of the many examples. What K'ung Hsien-feng did has inspired her fellow students to go forward, and the change of one student has driven other students to advance. The contingent of activists is growing swiftly. This series of facts has given our leaders and teachers an extremely profound education. It is realized that the attitude we adopt toward students gives expression to the mutual relationship between one man and another in a socialist school. Lenin once stated that the old school was "permeated with the bourgeois idea of gradation." If we use the method of "rectification," we in fact extend the bourgeois rights in the teacher-student relationship, turning the comradely relationship between teachers and students into an antagonistic relationsihp. Instead of winning students over to the side of the proletariat, we will push them to the side of the bourgeoisie. However, when we oppose "rectification" of students, it does not mean that we may wash our hands and look on with folded arms. On the contrary, we must guide them to act on Chairman Mao's teaching: "While their main task is to study, they should study other things, that is, not only literature but also industry, agriculture and military affairs. They should also criticize the bourgeoisie." We must passionately help the students to change their thinking. Chairman Mao has taught us: "All work in schools is aimed at changing the students' thinking." To change their thinking, we must insist on placing proletarian politics in command, grasp the advanced models to drive the average, rely on the masses to carry out ideological and political work in a penetrating manner, and energetically promote the communist factors among the young people. We must guide them to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship and revolutionary tradition in the course of struggle, to recognize the laws of class struggle in socialist society, to

increase their understanding of the Party's basic line and gradually establish the communist world outlook. Only thus is it possible to fully arouse the enthusiasm and initiative of the students to study for the revolution and to raise their consciousness of observing revolutionary discipline.

As efforts have been focused on theoretical study and on ideological and political work, the revolutionary spirit has been greatly promoted among the students while the teachers' revolutionary initiative has also been considerably aroused. Formerly some teachers felt that "students are difficult, teachers are unlucky" and lacked confidence in doing their work well. Now that they have seen the soaring spirit of the revolutionary young fighters, they have greater pride and a greater sense of responsibility. A young teacher previously wanted to quit and work in a factory. He was rather passive in the school. Now he has decided to learn from K'ung Hsien-feng, let his youth shine, and dedicate his life to education. An old teacher formerly hoped to retire earlier, but now she pledged to "win new merit for the Party's educational cause, being old in age but not in heart." Having raised their consciousness of studying seriously and transforming their world outlook in struggle, all of them are resolved to serve the Party's educational cause loyally and devote their lives to the struggle for communism. It is further realized that "the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." To have a correct line, it is necessary to study theory seriously. In particular, members of the school's leading group must exert themselves to study theory well so that the school's leadership is truly held in the hands of the proletariat.

Although we have gained some results in study, we have only taken the first step. Our Party branch and the teachers and students of the entire school are resolved to go on studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship, to deepen the study movement in conjunction with the actual two-line struggle in the school, and make the educational revolution advance victoriously along Chairman Mao's proletarian educational line.

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Isotope Chronology and Man's Knowledge of the History of Development of Nature

by

Chu Ping-ch'üan (朱炳泉) and
Chou Hsin-hua (周新华)

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"The law of the unity of opposites is the fundamental law of the universe." The history of development of nature is a history full of contradictions and struggles. The movement of the material world in the infinite time and space, the various levels of the universe from the nebula, the galaxy, the sun and the earth to the minute matter as well as the living things and the society of man--all these are the products of such contradictions and struggles. In class society, "class struggle in its various forms profoundly influences the development of man's knowledge." For this reason, man's knowledge of the history of development of nature is necessarily replete with contradictions and struggles.

The great leader Chairman Mao points out: "The history of mankind is one of continuous development from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom. This process is never-ending. In any society in which classes exist class struggle will never end. In classless society the struggle between the new and the old and between truth and falsehood will never end. In the fields of the struggle for production and scientific experiment, mankind makes constant progress and nature undergoes constant change; they never remain at the same level. Therefore, man has constantly to sum up experience and go on discovering, inventing, creating and advancing. Ideas of stagnation, pessimism, inertia and complacency are all wrong. They are wrong because they agree neither with the historical facts of social development over the past million years, nor with the historical facts of nature so far known to us (i.e., nature as revealed in the history of celestial bodies, the earth, life, and other natural phenomena). Thus, applying the historical facts of the development of human society and of nature over the past millions of years, Chairman Mao incisively elucidates the basic viewpoint of dialectical materialism and powerfully criticizes idealism, metaphysics and agnosticism.

Following the discovery of radiation, a branch of science which calculates the periods of the process of nature by using such laws as that of decay of natural radiative isotopes, namely, isotope chronology*, appeared in modern natural sciences. The development of this newly emerging

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* Isotope chronology is a science studying and determining the age of formation of rocks and minerals in the natural world. The age of the rocks and minerals is calculated on the basis of the proportionate relationship between the content of certain radiative elements (such as uranium, potassium^{40}, and urbidium^{87}) and the content of their radiative transformed products (such as lead, argon^{40}, and strontium^{87}). The time of formation of rocks and minerals can be correctly calculated because the speed of transformation of radiative elements is not subject to the influence of external conditions such as temperature, pressure and chemical reaction.

science over the past decades and its fruits of research into the history of nature have greatly enriched and deepened man's knowledge of the history of dialectical development of nature. There have been more and clearer facts to show that "nature is the touchstone for the examination of dialectics." (Engels, Socialism: Utopian and Scientific) Dialectical materialism is the only correct world outlook, a sharp weapon for knowing and transforming nature.

I.

The history of human society with written records has been merely several thousand years, a very short period of the entire history of man and a fleeting moment compared with the history of celestial bodies, the earth and life. In the course of struggle against nature, man gradually recognized that everything in the universe was born and perished, moved and changed, and that every process of nature had its own history of vigorous development. In order to know the process of dialectical development of nature, it is necessary to have relatively accurate measurements of time and space.

Time and space exist independently of man's consciousness, and are the "forms of existing objective reality." (Lenin, Materialism and Empirio-Criticism) Man's knowledge of time was always achieved by the relative time determined by the state of concrete motion. As early as several thousand years ago the Chinese laboring people in the prolonged practice of production calculated time by using the laws of the movement of the sun and the earth and by making such devices as the "sundial," and formulated various sorts of calendars. However, on the question of time and space an acute struggle between two kinds of world outlooks always existed. Reactionary philosophers consistently propagated the idealist and metaphysical outlook on nature by calling for "an exhaustive investigation of the cyclical theory of Heaven and earth" and saying that "the existence of the vital force was preceded by the appearance of principles." On the other hand, philosophers or scientists with materialist thinking--such as Hsun K'uang, Chang Heng, Tsu Ch'ung-chih and Shen K'uo--attached great importance to production practice and practical observations, adhering to the materialist view on time and space, that "Heaven has its time" and "the universe has unlimited space." Some of them, moreover, founded or affirmed scientific calendars such as "Ta Ming Calendar" which met the needs of agricultural production at the time, and it was only several centuries later that the principles on which some of these calendars were based were adopted by Western Europe. When it came to the knowledge of the remains of ancient organisms that reflected the changes in the history of the earth strata, a sharp struggle between two kinds of world outlooks likewise existed. Since T'ang and Sung, Shen K'uo and others had dwelt in scientific and materialist terms on the relationship between the fossils of sea life shells and the changes of the earth. However, plagiarizing their records, the reactionary Confucian scholar Chu Hsi of the Sung Dynasty proceeded from idealism and cooked up the theory of catastrophe, describing the earth as "a vast waste" in which "mountains collapsed and rivers disappeared, and both people and material vanished." He did so in a vain attempt to continue to preserve the theory of reactionary rule which held that "the power of the sovereign is bestowed by God" and "Heaven and man interact to each other."

In Europe of the Middle Ages, science was shackled within theology. Following the bourgeois revolution and the development of the social productive forces, Copernicus' "heliocentric theory" unfolded a fierce attack on the religious "genesis theory." In the middle of the 18th century, Kant founded the nebular hypothesis concerning the origin of the solar system. As Engels pointed out, this hypothesis for the first time shook "the conception that nature had no history in time." (Anti-Duhring) "Kant's discovery contained the point of departure for all further progress. If the earth was something that had come into being, then its present geological, geographical, and climatic state, and its plants and animals likewise, must be something that had come into being; it must have had a history not only of co-existence in space but also of succession in time." (Dialectics of Nature) Subsequently, large-scale exploration of natural resources and the cultivation of seeds in agriculture objectively accumulated data for the development of geology and biology at the time. On this basis, Lyell, Darwin and others founded "uniformitarianism" and the "theory of evoluation of living things," theories which powerfully attacked the metaphysical outlook on nature and eloquently showed that nature was constantly moving, changing and developing.

The evolution of living things is necessarily reflected in the fossils or remains of living things in all sorts of earth strata in the history of geology, thereby providing a useful relative time-mark for measuring the evolution of the earth and living things. Lyell and others, on the basis of this time-mark and using the method of "discussing the ancient from the present," expounded the process of geological development and speculated about the age of the earth in terms of hundred million years. Furthermore, people divided the history of development of the earth from the old to the new into the pre-cambrian period (previously believed to be without life), paleozoic era, the mesozoic era and the cenozoic era (with all kinds of biocommunities). Meanwhile, attempts were begun to determine the age of the earth. People looked upon certain geological historical processes (such as the accumulation of sodium salt in the sea water, the deposit of sediments at the sea floor and the earth from a melted state to being frozen and solidified) as single-direction processes of equal speed, and deduced the age of the earth as ranging from several tens of millions of years to several hundred million years. As far as past knowledge was concerned, all these viewpoints of evolution and gradual change in "discussing the ancient from the present" were undoubtedly great advances. Yet such knowledge inevitably bore the limitations of the time. In the wake of the further development of production, the above-mentioned theories failed more and more to satisfy the needs of social practice, and people urgently demanded a technique from natural science which would enable them to determine the history of succession in nature.

Toward the end of the 19th century, impelled by the tremendous development of the social productive forces, modern natural science made a series of major breakthroughs. The discovery of the electron, X-ray and radiation revealed the truth that the atom was changeable and matter was inexhaustible. Faced with these new discoveries, Mach, spokesman of the bourgeoisie, and his like uttered the despondent cries that "matter disappears" and that time and space were "subjective sensation" in an attempt to drag natural science back to Beckeley's subjective idealism. However,

scientists who firmly adhered to materialism attached extreme importance to these new discoveries and began to probe into the internal structure of the atom. With the deepening of the research into the nuclear theory and radiation, people quickly found from this new level of material structure the "message and secret code" with which to determine the processes of evolution of the earth and celestial bodies. In 1902, some people proposed to determine the geological age of minerals by using the law of decay of natural radiation, and successively began attempts to determine the age of crystallization of uranium-bearing minerals by the application of the law of decay of uranium→helium, uranium→lead, and discovered the natural radiation of potassium and urbidium. But scarcely had this new thing--the determination of the geological age with the law of decay of isotopes--been born than a roaring storm arose in the geological circles and it was questioned, criticized and even opposed in various ways by the traditional forces. In 1908, some people in the United States, taking advantage of the fact that this new method was still immature, attempted to basically negate the possibility of determining the geological age with the law of decay of radiation. However, impelled by social production and coupled with the development of nuclear physics, isotope chronology soon lay its own theoretical and technical foundation. By the 1950's, the method of measuring time with the law of decay of isotopes such as uranimum, thorium, potassium and urbidium began to be extensively applied in the study of the geological years, meteoric years, the history of the earth and the solar system, life and human evolution as well as archaeology.

Over the past 20 years, as a result of the exploration of mineral resources, geological surveys, satellite observations, and the practical needs of oceanagraphy, environmental protection, engineering, hydrological and archeological work as well as the development of science and technology, isotope chronology marched on many new fields and established a series of new methods owing to the interpenetration of various sciences. The great number of fruits of chronological study in the practice of production provided more and more new data for the exploration of the history of celestial bodies, the earth and life, powerfully attacking certain traditional concepts in these fields.

II.

The history of science proves that when a branch of natural science accumulated a huge amount of data enabling people to achieve new progress in their understanding of nature and yet they were still unable to "dialectically synthesize" (Anti-Duhring) the data obtained from the study of various separate subjects from a new plane and in the context of the extensive general ties, the metaphysical ways of thinking inevitably entrenched themselves and would not leave the field. Those bourgeois scholars, often fishing in muddied waters, dished up various "world schemes" of the Duhring type and "eternal truths" in a futile attempt to make absolute and isolate the new achievements of this branch of science, create fixed, unchangeable and unknowable limits, and even turned them into a tool for the explanation of out-dated concepts. Wasn't it true that the Newton mechanics led to the "mechanical theory," and Darwin's "theory of evolution" finally sank into "vulgar evolutionism"? The bourgeoisie always made use

of the metaphysical outlook on nature to attain its political aim of opposing social reform and defending or restoring the old system. The renegade and traitor Lin Piao was totally ignorant of science, yet he babbled a lot about anti-particles, crying aloud that "we must prevent the opposites from exceeding the limits or they will destroy the unity." Actually he was extremely hostile to revolution lest it destroy the "unity" of the old world and the old system.

Although, since the birth of isotope chronology, the determination of the ages of a large amount of mineral rocks and its extensive application enabled people to head from determining the character to determining the quantity in the study of geological history, yet isotope chronology, as an independent science and like traditional geology and other sciences, was accompanied in its course of development by a struggle between materialism and idealism and between dialectics and metaphysics. Over the past decades, some theories of geology were filled with the "theory of immutability," "theory of rotation," and "theory of direct birth" as well as dogmatism, empiricism and scholastic philosophy. Machians in geology both at home and abroad, such as the lackey and comprador Ting Wen-chiang in the old China, kept saying that in nature "order" could only be sought from "classification" and that it was impossible to know the laws, etc. All these exerted a profound influence on isotope chronology. The traditional habitual forces often looked upon isotope chronology as a tool of "absolutely accurate" figures for defining various kinds of geological limits and for carrying out classification, and thought that determination of the age was merely a fixed and unchangeable "world scheme" with the addition of a "law of determining the figures" in time. Didn't some foreign scholars long ago place on it the crown of "absolute ages"? They regarded the ages of rocks and the earth determined by the relative value of isotopes as the absolute starting points of the rocks and the earth. When studying the geological history, they always wished that the definition of the geological limits with the ages of isotopes was a point in time "without error," and attempted to define the unabridgeable gulf between the magmatic magmatic activities according to the ages. Some researchers who defined the limits according to palaeontology always hoped that they could find the distinct dissimilarities between different "species" and "genus" as well as their fixed starting points and terminals in time. When attention was turned to geological space, certain scholars abroad again attempted to define limits between the so-called absolutely stable ancient "platforms" and the young "troughs" of absolute activities according to the data of ages and some one-sided geological phenomena. Although the definition of all these limits had its relative accuracy in their respective small worlds, yet when they entered the broad field of study, the defects of their being absolute and fixed immediately became evident and all sorts of confusion and contradictions appeared. In order to close the loopholes and cover up the contradictions, they proceeded to juggle with various "new" terms and "new" limits and carried out an endless debate in the matter of definition in an attempt to substitute scholastic philosophy for the dialectics of nature. In the penetrating study of isotope chronology, a large quantity of experimental data was obtained which was incompatible with the traditional geological concepts. For instance, from ancient metamorphic rocks the age of relatively young isotopes might be ascertained just as the ancient age

might be ascertained from young volcanic rocks. For different minerals of the same rocks and the same variety of rocks, sometimes it is possible to determine remarkably different ages by the use of different methods. In the geological bodies with mutually interpenetrating relationships it is also possible to find out mutually transposed ages. And so on and so forth. In face of these superficial phenomenon of the "old growing young" and "reversal of father and son," certain researchers, instead of exploring the essence of things, adopted a basically negative attitude, and put forward such pessimistic views as "the ages of isotopes are incredible" and "they are incompatible with geological observations." From "absolutely accurate" to "incredible"--this is the inevitable consequence of metaphysicans in having "opposite ideas being absolutely incompatible with each other." (Anti-Duhring).

As far as the epistemological origin is concerned, the emergence of the above-mentioned narrow concepts was due to the influence of the metaphysical methods of thinking, with the result that people separated the formation of the earth, rocks and life from the "long river" of the evolution of matter, separating the movement of matter from time and space and studying it in an isolated way without considering the general internal connections of things. "Before the nebular stage matter passed through an infinite series of other forms." (Anti-Duhring) Similarly, before the formation of the earth, the solar system already passed through its infinite series. Before the formation of granite, matter forming the rocks also passed through an infinite series, and the rocks after being formed again passed through a series of changes. Nature is constantly developing and changing, and all contradictions invariably turn into their opposites under given conditions. Matter in motion may transform from one state into another state which to people seems to be irreconcilable. Those limits which were once believed to be absolutely correct in a certain period in geology were again and again smashed by new facts derived from observations. For instance, a breakthrough to the limit that there was no life in the pre-cambrian period was made by the discovery of fossils of various kinds of living things which transcended the limits of the anthropozoicera and proved to be older than that. In the traditional historical geology the concept that "the deeper the metamorphism, the older the age" was smashed by the determination of the ages of ancient rock formations with vast differences in the degree of metamorphism. The verification of the periodicity and continuity of the magmatic activities by the statistical distribution of large amounts of data concerning rock ages broke the distinct limits between different periods of magmatic activities. When we say that certain metamorphic rocks are old, we mean only that before metamorphism the formation of the original rocks was relatively early, but under the influence of temperature and pressure in the latter period metamporhism caused the rocks to recrystallize and turn into a new rock system, and so it may be said that the rocks were young. When such metamorphism was extremely strong, it might cause the rocks to be partially or completely melted and become completely different and very young mixed rocks or magmatic rocks. Such a process from quantitative to qualitative change produced different influence on the isotopic system in the rocks and so it was possible to obtain the various kinds of different age data. Here a certain singular time of growth could not reflect the essence of things, and the entire process of development and change of things

could only be illustrated by the series of evolutions in time. It was precisely from isotope chronology data derived from observations contradicting the old traditional concepts that people found new ways to study the time series of evolution of matter on the earth. On the basis of dismantling the old concept that rocks and minerals were an absolutely closed system (namely, after rocks were formed, no matter whatsoever got out of or into them) and after a recurrent process of knowledge and practice, they founded a series of new techniques and computation theories for determining the many leaps and changes and gradual transformation that occurred in the isotopic systems in rocks and minerals. On the basis of the new methods, people might work out the time of the formation of rocks, the time of certain changes before the formation and the time of the occurrence of metamorphism following formation. Thus, the age of the isotopes was no longer a single time point separated from the motion of matter but one inseparable from the motion of matter. Even given the fact that these theories and methods are still not sufficiently mature at present, they will surely lead to new leaps in isotope chronology.

As isotope chronology gradually freed itself from the bondage of the traditional metaphysical concepts in geology, the more and more new achievements it gained convincingly proved that "in the final analysis, everything in nature emerges dialectically and not metaphysically." (Socialism: Utopian and Scientific) The solar system, the earth, living things, mankind and the elements and isotopes as forms for time calculation all have a complicated history of development. The social revolution and the changes in the outlook on nature enabled mankind to further advance toward the realm of freedom from the realm of necessity on the journey of knowing and dynamically transforming nature.

Today, the age of the earth, calculated on the basis of the law of decay of isotopes such as lead and strontium, is about 4.56 billion years, the ages of various kinds of meteorites range from 4.5 to 4.6 billion years, and the age of the moon, determined on the basis of its surface soil, is also about 4.6 billion years. Further, on this basis it is deduced that when the three were formed they had similar relative value of the isotopes of lead and strontium. This shows that the stars of the solar system were separated from the primordial solar nebula about 4.6 billion years ago. This important conclusion overthrew the past approach of calculating the age of the earth according to the mechanical and chemical movements, showing that the process of development of the earth was not a repetition of what was known as mechanical movement. But was the 4.6 billion years a fixed and immutable starting point for the solar system? The deep research into the age of isotopes negated this metaphysical interpretation. There were apparent dissimilarities in the ages as determined from the different groups of meteorites and the internal structure of meteorites, showing that the formation of the solar system and the various celestial bodies took place in succession in time. Then, man's study of the decayed products of the various extinct nuclides on earth opened a gap for the exploration of the history before the formation of the earth and planets up till the formation of the galaxy. The preliminary results of the study with these methods further proved that the formation of the earth--moon--meteoric system still took a relatively long period of time. While the solar system has a history of about 5-6 billion years, the galaxy has even a longer history. All these achievements forcefully refuted the fallacies that it was impossible to know the history before the formation of the earth

by applying isotope chronology; at the same time they also fully showed that the evolution of matter in the universe was likewise not a simple repetition of a certain process and that before the formation of the solar system matter had a different form of motion from what it is today.

The earth, after emerging from the primordial solar nebula, was still in a contradictory movement of one dividing into two. As determined at present, the age of the most ancient matter of the earth crust is about 3.75 billion years (the greenland site), showing that the earth at least had a crust at that time. Gravity, radiation and the rotation of the earth led to the crust's activity and the internal movement of the earth core and mantle. The global data of isotope chronology show that the magmatic activity and metamorphism in the earth crust had not only a periodical but also a continuous nature. In the early history, approximately about 2.6 billion years, 1.8 billion years or 1 billion years ago, the magmatic activity and metamorphism were manifested most acutely, and this was a reflection of the movement of matter inside the earth. For this reason, with the help of the data of isotope chronology, it is possible to study the process of the earth's internal movement. The recent magmatic activity of the earth more or less demonstrated one cycle of 100 million or 200 million years. The age of the isotopes in the rocks and the characteristics of their distribution in the sea bed and in various continents of the world further revealed that the matter of the earth had large-scale level movement and integral cross movement. On the mechanical principle about the occurrence of this movement, there are still conflicting interpretations. A number of geologists in our country point out that the internal movement of the earth could induce a change in the speed of rotation, thereby leading to the advance and retreat of the sea water in the northwest direction and the latitudal and longtitudal flow of the soft rock formations of the surface level. In addition, there were also some who believe that mantle rock continued to enter the earth crust in the form of basalt and other rocks, and the earth crust re-entered the mantle through the plate movement, thereby causing bigger drifts. This movement might also cause a continent to be cut into two parts and drift to beyond a thousand miles. These hypotheses from different angles reflected the complicated and diversified forms of the movement of the earth. Deeper study of the fossil land magnetism of the rocks coupled with the data from isotope chronology showed that the magnetic pole of the earth was likewise not fixed or immutable. In geological history the southern and northern poles of the earth had relatively complicated drifts and a number of reversals. All this new knowledge has powerfully disproved the theory of immutability and theory of eternity concerning the continents, the oceans, the earth crust and mantle, and also caused the one-sided study of the rise and fall of the earth crust and the folding movement to enter into broader field of research with more general ties, breaking the spiritual chains hamstringing the development of geology.

Although the earth has undergone a number of cataclysmic changes, it is still very young today and is still developing and changing. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chinese scientists carried out large-scale scientific observations in Tibet--the "roof of the world." The combination of data from isotope chronology and the other sciences shows that the Himalayan Mountain area had undergone violent geological changes more than 600 million years ago, and although the rocks on the

Qumolangma Feng may have a history of more than 400 million years, yet the entire Himalayan Range emerged from the sea and formed a mountain only more than 10 million years ago, and, furthermore, it is still rising today.

The origin of life on the earth was in the past assumed to have begun with the Cambrian period (about 570 million years). New data prove that a fairly long period of time had passed since life was transformed from inorganic matter into organic matter and then was born in the organic world. In the earth strata of the pre-cambrian period of 570-700 million years in many places in the world, a large quantity of animal fossils such as gastrovascular animals were discovered. From the earth strata of 100 million years fossils of real nuclear cells (green algae) were found, while from the earth strata of 1-3.2 billion years there were various kinds of bacteria and blue-green algae fossils in transformed states. Recently, in the earth strata of 3.2 billion years in the southern part of Africa, bacteria fossils which were formerly nuclear cells were discovered. As for the more ancient meteorites and moon rocks, people have separated from them a variety of principal organic compounds of protien and nuclear acid which constituted the basis of life, such as amino acid, purine and pyrimidine. This picture of nature evolving from chemistry to biology showed that the evolution of life in various states had undergone a long process from quantitative to qualitative change.

In recent years, the technical advance of isotope chronology has effectively coordinated with the study of the ancient man, thereby accelerating the deepening of the knowledge of the history of evolution of man in the early period. Engels pointed out long ago that labor caused ape to transform into man, and labor began with the manufacture of tools. Therefore, for the study of the history of mankind, it is necessary to study the history of manufacture of tools by man. In the past it was always believed that mankind had only a history of 400,000-500,000 years; the earliest "Peking ape" discovered in our country was a part of mankind in this time. However, the "Peking ape" not only could make tools but also used fire. "The generation of fire by friction gave man for the first time control over one of the forces of nature, and thereby separated him forever from the animal kingdom." (Anti-Duhring) It can be seen that the Peking ape was already a relatively advanced man. It is now established that a fairly long period of time separated the time the ape began to make tools from the "Peking ape" in the evolution toward man. Since the early 1960's, a large number of "ancient apes"--ancestors of men--capable of making tools were discovered in some regions in the eastern part of Africa. The data from isotope chronology and fossil land magnetism prove that "ancient apes" in east Africa had at least a history of 2.6 million years. This discovery had vital scientific significance in the study of the history of mankind.

Engels pointed out: "Every finite mode of existence of matter, whether it be sun or nebular vapor, single animals or genus of animals, chemical combination or dissociation, is equally transient, and wherein nothing is eternal but eternally changing, eternally moving matter and the laws according to which it moves and changes." (Dialectics of Nature)

The earth, living things, and mankind as well as various geological bodies on the earth are all finite modes of existence in perpetual movement. It is only when we grasp the qualitative differences between them and their mutual connections that we can correctly understand the history of nature.

III.

Just as the present celestial bodies, the earth and living things have already undergone an infinite series of evolution, so matter of the universe in various forms will surely transform into their respective "tomorrow." Mankind's knowledge of the process of development of nature will surely continue to deepen infinitely. Only the first step has been taken in using isotope chronology to explore the history of development of the solar system, the galaxy and even the universe, and present methods still have a lot of defects either in theory or in practice. As people still have an inadequate knowledge of the laws of the transformation of nucleons into "basic particles" in the process of the evolution of the universe, so measuring the time in the process of the evolution of the celestial bodies basically remains a sphere to be explored. It is certain that following the infinite deepening of man's knowledge of the material world, more new methods will be found to measure the time process of all kinds of evolutions. However, in recent decades, all sorts of "theories of the universe" have been prevalent abroad. There have been deductions of the "age of the universe" and the "radius of the universe," and there have been a great deal of talks about "creation of matter," that the motion of the universe began with a "big explosion of the universe," and so on and so forth. It is not difficult to see that these "theories" are nothing more than shelters for idealism and the theory of the finity of the universe. Just as Lenin pointed out, "the well-educated representatives of the bourgeoisie, like the fast drowning men, want to crutch a straw to save their lives." They attempted to use these fallacious conclusions drapped in modern scientific cloaks to "preserve or find an outlet for their spiritualism." (Materialism and Empirio-Criticism) For this reason, it is necessary to criticize these idealist fallacies politically, philosophically and in the field of natural science and expose their reactionary essence. The study of the theory of time and space and the theory of the evolution of celestial bodies in our country will surely develop in practice and in militant criticism.

Following the deepening of the research into celestial body physics and nuclear physics, for many years questions have been raised as to whether the constant of physics (such as the gravitational constant and the constant of radioactive decay commonly used in the calculation of the geological age of isotopes) could change with the passage of time. On the basis of some contradictory phenomena discovered from large amounts of practice, isotope chronology also raised from another angle similar questions. The "constant"is not constant--this can be completely understood from the viewpoint of dialectics. These "abnormal" phenomena will not, as some people have worried, overthrow the theoretical basis of isotope chronology. Lenin warned us long ago: "Human conceptions of space and time are relative, but these relative conceptions go to compound absolute truth. These relative conceptions,

in their development, move toward absolute truth and approach nearer and nearer to it. The mutability of human conceptions of space and time no more refutes the objective reality of space and time than the mutability of scientific knowledge of the structure and forms of matter in motion refutes the objective reality of the external world." (Materialism and Empirio-Criticism) Therefore, all pessimistic views and views negating isotope chronology are groundless. As a product of a certain stage of the development of science, isotope chronology will surely be replaced by a time calculation science which is newer and more nearer to the absolute truth.

At present, the research into isotope chronology in our country still should take the earth as the principal object. The earth--this cradle of mankind--has been the most important object for the study of natural science over the past several thousand years. However, up to now we have little understanding of the structure of the earth, its early state and internal mechanics. With the development of the socialist revolution and construction, there is an urgent need to solve such vital problems as resources exploration, earthquake forecasting, engineering construction and environmental protection. This demands that we profoundly understand the law of evolution of the earth in the course of transforming nature. Even in regard to the study of the history of evolution of the celestial bodies, it is obviously of tremendous significance to start with the study of the history of the earth. The earth has taken part in the process of evolution of the solar system and moreover up to now it is still continually invaded by a large quantity of matter from space. For this reason, an accurate knowledge of the early history of evolution of the earth and the earth--moon--meteoric systems will undoubtedly hold a key to opening the door of the history of the solar system. However, internationally, the two superpowers, the US and the USSR, are hoisting the signboard of space, oceanic and global "scientific research" to serve their imperialist policies of contending for the continents, oceans and outer space, and are creating global public evils and spreading such shameless rumors as "destruction of the earth" and "energy exhuastion" in an attempt to cover up the true fact that the entire capitalist system is deep in a general crisis. The proletariat and the revolutionary people must not take this lightly but must unfold a tit-for-tat struggle against it.

To strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat in the entire ideological sphere, we must let Marxism occupy the position of natural science and actively unfold criticism against the revisionist and bourgeois outlooks which infiltrate into natural science. We must consciously apply the dialectical-materialist world outlook to study and analyze the latest achievements of natural science and the existing problems, "expose the reactionary and metaphysical wrong ideas, propagate the dialectics inherent in things, promote the transformation of things and achieve the aim of the revolution." This is our long-term fighting task. We must adhere to the Party's basic line, seriously study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, and advance courageously along the revolutionary line pointed out by Chairman Mao!

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The Economic Root Cause of the Soviet Revisionists' Quest for World Hegemony

by

Liang Hsiao (梁 效)

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Because the Khrushchev-Brezhnev traitorous clique usurped leadership in the Party and the state, pushed the revisionist line, and restored capitalism in an all-round way, the Soviet Union, the first socialist country in the world, has degenerated into a social-imperialist state which is engaged in aggression and expansion everywhere and desperately contends for world hegemony. The new tsars in the Kremlin, however, are in mortal fear of the word "hegemony." They boil with anger at the mention of it. This is not surprising. "Like a thief who tends to avoid the place where he has stolen," they make "hegemony" a forbidden word. This precisely shows that the vigorous struggle of the people in the world against hegemonism has hit them where it hurts most.

(I)

Soviet revisionist social-imperialism is an imperialist state with the signboard of socialism, governed by the law of imperialism and essentially the same as a capitalist-imperialist state. But as it has changed into an imperialist state from a large socialist state by restoring capitalism, it bears certain unique features.

Lenin said: "The most solid economic base of imperialism is monopoly." In an imperialist country, finance capital dominates everything. Politically it will surely head for all-round reaction. In national and state relations, it will surely make "every effort to annex all other states." Nowhere is this basic characteristic of monopoly more glaringly exposed than in Soviet revisionist social-imperialism. "The Soviet Union today is under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the German fascist type, the dictatorship of the Hitlerite type." In national and state relations, the Soviet revisionists today are making "every effort to annex all other states." They vigorously carry out so-called "joint ownership" and "economic integration" among the "CEMA" countries, while in reality they are trying to annex them. Between 1955 and 1973, the Soviet revisionists caused the five East European countries to suffer a loss of US$19 billion through unequal exchanges in foreign trade alone. As far as the Soviet revisionists are concerned, trade and "cultural exchanges" are channels for infiltration, "aid" and loans are synonymous with capital export, and "treaties of friendship" are no more than a means for controlling and interfering in the internal affairs of other countries. As for the so-called "Warsaw Pact Organization," it is both a military shield for economic annexation and a tool of aggression for further expanding their spheres of influence. Like capitalist imperialism, they have joined the ranks of international imperialism in carving the world in a vain attempt to build a colonial empire

dreamed of by the old tsars. Their blatant dispatch of troops to invade and occupy Czechoslovakia was a glaring exposure of the ferocious features of social-imperialism. Their aggression and subversion everywhere have continuously aroused the resistance of the people of the whole world, and sown the seeds of their complete defeat.

"An essential feature of imperialism is the contention among several great powers for hegemony." In the era of imperialism, monopolist rule has replaced free competition, but competition remains--on a larger scale, in greater depth, with stronger intensity and destructiveness. Lenin pointed out: "It is precisely this combination of mutually contradictory 'principles', competition and monopoly, that is the essence of imperialism." The economic bases of the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are monopoly capitalism, and the big capitalist classes of both countries are making every effort to monopolize the resources and markets of the world on the basis of monopolizing the economies in their own countries. They are bound to unfold a general and acute competition with each other. Their hegemonism and power politics are rooted in such inseparably practical linkage between competition and monopoly.

Soviet revisionist social-imperialism is a latecomer at the world imperialist banquet. In order to redivide the world, the Soviet revisionists first set on many of their erstwhile "fraternal countries." Their political control, military occupation and economic annexation of some member countries of "CEMA" enabled them to have a sphere of influence excluding all other international monopoly capital. Not only that, but they have tried their utmost to penetrate into the sphere of influence under US imperialism, undermining the latter's influence and carrying out unbridled infiltration and expansion in the Second and Third Worlds. Thus the rivalry between the two superpowers for redivision of the world and for world hegemony will inevitably grow in intensity. "In order to monopolize everything, they must expel their competitors not only from the domestic market but also from external markets, from the whole world." Their struggle for hegemony has spread to every corner of the world, centering on Europe and including the Mediterranean and Europe's flank--the Middle East and the Persian Gulf. Brezhnev openly declared: The European question "occupies a central position in the foreign policy" of the Soviet Union. Three-fourths of the Soviet revisionist armed forces were already deployed in Europe, and since 1972 they have been increasing their military strength in Europe at the annual rate of 5 to 10 percent. Such intensifying contention between the two hegemonic powers, The US and Soviet Union,will one day lead to a world war. They are the source of unrest in the world today and the source of a new world war. The so-called "European Security Conference" which lasted many years and did not end until recently was nothing but another name for the division of spheres of influence by two superpowers using military blocs. Actually it should be called European Danger Conference. The Soviet revisionists advertise everywhere such trash as "lasting peace," "security" and "detente," but all this is deceptive rhetoric intended to cover up their daily intensifying arms expansion and war preparations and their war policies. Against this we should maintain high vigilance.

During World War I, Lenin pointed out: "We will never know how to assess the present war and present politics" if we do not study "the fundamental economic question, the economic essence of imperialism." Military expansion and hegemonism of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism are by no means accidental phenomena; they are not determined by the subjective desires of certain people but by the political system of the Soviet revisionist fascist dictatorship and the economic base of state monopoly capitalism. They are the inevitable result of the operation of the law of imperialism. The contention between the two hegemonic powers, the US and USSR, is the continuation and development of the history of contention for hegemony among imperialists. "For various relatively partial and temporary reasons, the forms of struggle may change and are changing frequently, but the essence and class content of struggle will never change as long as there are classes."

(II)

The economic base of the Soviet Union today is state monopoly capitalism brought about by all-round restoration of capitalism by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. The bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class holds sway in the ownership of the means of production, in the relationship between man and man, and in distribution. This special feature of the economic structure itself makes Soviet revisionist social-imperialism more brutal in its aggression and expansion abroad, in its striving for world hegemony.

Compared with that of the capitalist-imperialist countries, state monopoly capitalism of the Soviet Union is more monopolistic, more concentrated and more tightly controlled in the hands of the state. All its economic lifelines, including the war industry, are directly controlled by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique which has a firm grip of the state machine. This characteristic makes the Soviet Union similar to Germany before and after World War I, in many respects, namely in technology and production, it is inferior to the United States, but "with respect to the organization of finance capitalism and the transformation of monopoly capitalism into state monopoly capitalism, it is superior to the United States."

In capitalist-imperialist countries, "private monopoly is interlaced with state monopoly." In such "interlocking," private monopoly takes the leading position, and state monopoly is essentially a tool with which private monopolist groups take advantage of the state apparatus to seek maximum profits. Such state monopoly makes the state apparatus serve private monopoly capital by frequently and on a massive scale using such methods as placing processing orders, reducing taxes, or granting subsidies. Even the nationalization of certain enterprises and departments to a certain degree or for a limited period of time under extraordinary circumstances, war or crisis for instance, is "no more than a means to raise or guarantee the income of those millionaires in certain industrial departments who are on the brink of bankruptcy." In the social-imperialist Soviet Union, state monopoly capitalism directly adopts the form of ownership by the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class. This state monopoly capitalism controls not

only several production departments or several dozens of trades and occupations but almost the whole of industry, capital construction, communications and transportation, domestic and foreign trade, finance, public utilities and state farms. Unlike the coexistence of several large financial groups in capitalist-imperialist countries, the Soviet revisionist monopoly capital is controlled by a single center. This center is "the ideal general capitalist"-- a state of dictatorship by the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class, represented by the Brezhnev renegade clique.

One of the consequences of the Brezhnev renegade clique's monopoly of the national economy and the domestic market is the subjugation of millions upon millions of the Soviet people under the most tyrannical monopolist rule and economic control. Is there any shortage of food? Are consumer goods in acutely short supply? Well, there is only one firm that produces, and it produces only this much. They go on grabbing monopolist profits, despite the bitter complaints of the people. Monopoly inevitably leads to decadence. As a result of the rule of the Soviet revisionist bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class, a tendency toward decadence and stagnation cannot but exist in its national economy. To grab maximum profits, the Soviet revisionist bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class steps up its aggression and expansion abroad, annexes new lands, plunders cheap raw materials and dumps its commodities abroad, and exports capital in order to shift its crises onto others. According to incomplete statistics, from 1954 to 1972, Soviet capital exported to the Third World amounted to over US$13 billion. The export of capital opened the way for the export of large quantities of unmarketable goods to a number of Third World countries. From 1955 to 1973, the Soviet revisionists sold at high prices to these countries more than US$16 billion worth of manufactured goods, reaping huge profits to the tune of several billion dollars.

Another consequence of the rule of the Soviet revisionist bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class is the sharpening of the basic contradictions of capitalism. In the Soviet Union today, a handful of bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists lead a luxurious and dissipated life, while the broad masses of the working people are plunged into the abyss of deep suffering. The rate of exploitation by the new tsars more than doubles that by the old tsars. Over one half of farm members and about one-fifth of the urban population live below the officially acknowledged poverty line. To the capitalist economy, the market is a matter of life and death. Growing relative shrinking of the domestic market inevitably prompts Soviet revisionist social-imperialism to double its effort to frantically seize foreign markets, thereby engaging US imperialism in an acute trade war, investment war, and a scramble for resources and the seas.

The integration of monopoly capitalism with the state machine of the bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class enables the Soviet revisionists to combine their economic, political, military and other forces in the struggle for world hegemony. The Soviet Union has thus become a superpower to contend with US imperialism for hegemony and take the offensive in this contention, even though it is behind the US in economic strength. It was in a similar way that Germany in the early 20th century ascended the "throne" as the top imperialist power in the world. As Lenin said: "The integration of large-scale state capitalism and the bureaucratic system enabled Germany

to take the lead." Such is the inevitable result of disequilibrium in the political and economic development of capitalism.

Many facts show that it is these economic and political characteristics of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism that strongly stimulate it to frenziedly carry out expansion and aggression abroad and scramble for hegemony, making it play the role of a ferocious nuclear despot running amuck on the international stage, and creating the conditions for its own destruction.

(III)

Arms expansion and war preparations and the aggressive and adventuristic policies wildly pushed by Soviet revisionism are determined by its social-imperialist nature, and also reflect the decadence and backwardness of its economy.

Lenin pointed out: "Under the capitalist system, division of the spheres of influence, interests and colonies is based on the dividers' strength, their general economic, financial and military strength. It is inconceivable that such a division is based on other things." In economic and financial strength, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism lags behind its rival, US imperialism, so to dominate the world, it must desperately increase its own military strength. And state monopoly capitalism in the Soviet Union provides the conditions for its militarization. Brezhnev once blustered: "National defense is above all other tasks of ours." In other words, stepped-up preparations for wars of aggression are given first place. For this reason, the adoption by the Soviet revisionists of the "guns, not butter" policy has to a considerale degree turned the Soviet national economy into a war economy.

At present, the gross national product of the Soviet Union equals about half that of the United States, yet the military expenditures of the two countries are about the same. According to estimates, Soviet military spending accounts for approximately one-third of its annual national budget, or about 20 percent of its national income. Some 60 percent of all industrial and communications enterprises in the Soviet Union are directly or indirectly engaged in military production. According to Soviet revisionist published official data, since 1953 about 85 percent of Soviet industrial investment has been channelled to the production of the means of production. A sizable portion of this has been used for arms production and only about 15 percent for production of consumer goods. In the past decade and more, outlays for nuclear weapons alone amounted to over US$100 billion. Within 10 years, the number of its ICBM's multiplied 15 times and the tonnage of naval craft nearly doubled, while the tonnage of nuclear submarines increased more than 5.5 times in 4 years. On the other hand, the ratio of the output value of consumer goods to the total output value of industry decreased daily, from 30.8 percent in 1953 to 25.5 percent in 1973. Due to constant expansion of arms production, capital and manpower have become seriously inadequate in the civilian industry where a great deal of old equipment has not been renewed and labor productivity is very low. Although the Soviet revisionist authorities again and again lowered the production targets, these often remained unfulfilled. At the same time, owing to the poor quality of products,

large quantities could not be sold. Agriculture has long been lagging behind. Grain production, in particular, has been extremely unstable and often reliance has to be placed on imports. All these have caused the Soviet economy to develop even more abnormally and brought about prolonged serious crises. Such is the inevitable bad result of the policy of militarization of the national economy by the Soviet revisionist bureaucratic-monopoly capitalist class.

Feverish militarization of the national economy by the Soviet revisionists has naturally brought about "overproduction" in their huge war industry. In order to find an outlet for those out-dated "surplus" firearms, the Soviet revisionists have become the biggest arms merchant in the world. Between 1955 and 1972, their arms sales totalled US$28.5 billion. To the Middle East alone, they exported more than US$6.7 billion worth of weapons from October 1973 to the end of 1974, more than US$1.4 billion over and above their total arms sales to that region from the mid-1950's up to the end of 1972. The Soviet revisionists have also taken the opportunity to practice blackmail, demanding payment in farm produce or in Western currencies and thereby making enormous profits.

For an economically relatively backward big imperialist power to attempt to dominate the world by force through the militarization of its national economy is a road that was taken by the old tsars. Lenin once pointed out: Tsarist Russia was "economically the most backward country" among the imperialist countries at that time. Nevertheless, economic backwardness did not in the least contain the old tsars' ambition; on the contrary, it made tsarist Russia more reactionary politically, more adventuristic militarily, and more avaricions economically. At that time, "in Russia, capitalist imperialism was relatively weak while military feudal imperialism was relatively strong." In this respect, the Soviet revisionist new tsars have completely stepped into the shoes of the old tsars. Tsarist Russia once "solidly maintained the honor of world gendarme" by relying on this military feudal imperialism. Today, this "honor" of the Soviet revisionist new tsars indeed outshines that of their predecessors.

Unbridled arms expansion by the Soviet revisionists has caused endless disaster to the Soviet working people. To pay for the huge military spending, the Soviet bureaucrat-monopoly capitalist class, in addition to extracting enormous surplus value from the working people, has further exploited them in the form of residential tax. According to the Soviet revisionists' own published statistics, such taxes in 1974 nearly trebled compared with 1960. They also fleeced the people by such means as pushing up prices and postponing the repayment of public bonds. Meanwhile, to ease their economic difficulties, they have had to borrow heavily from the West at high interest rates. This has driven the Soviet working people into new indebtedness. All these forms of exploitation have impoverished the Soviet working people with each passing day, thereby deepening the class contradiction within the Soviet Union.

The 10 years of Brezhnev's reign have been a period of frantic pursuit of expansionism, a period in which the Soviet revisionists have suffered setbacks everywhere and been beset by internal and external difficulties. At home, two five-year plans fell through, agriculture suffered reduction in six years out of ten, and this year's harvest is

even worse. The whole Soviet economy is now beset with difficulties and deep in crisis. Even Brezhnev himself has been obliged to admit the "shortage in manpower and financial resources." Class and national contradictions within the Soviet Union have grown increasingly sharp and the new tsars are like one sitting on the top of a volcano. Internationally, the Third World--as the main force combating imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism--has, in the course of actual struggle, come to see more and more clearly the true colors of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism wearing the cloak of a "natural ally," and has increasingly directed the spearhead of struggle against this dangerous enemy. In the past few years, the Second World's struggle against hegemonism has made new progress, thwarting Moscow's attempts at aggressive expansion into West Europe. The struggle of the East European countries and peoples against the Kremlin's domination and oppression has been gaining in strength. All this has made the going tougher and tougher for the Soviet revisionists.

Chairman Mao points out: "All reactionaries are paper tigers," and "the revisionist Soviet Union is also a paper tiger." Although Soviet revisionist social-imperialism looks ferocious, in reality it is weak inwardly. Its vain attempts to seek world hegemony can only result in having more nooses tied round its own neck, with the other end of the rope held by the peoples of the world. It cannot escape its final doom.

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